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# AMERICA

A-CATHOLIC-REVIEW-OF-THE-WEEK

MAY 31, 1919

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## Ireland and Article X

J. C. Walsh

*Staff Correspondent of "America" at the  
Peace Conference*

## The Federal Council of the Churches

Francis Beattie

## Congress and the League of Nations

John McGuinness

## Whitmaniacs and Foofoos

Brother Leo

## The Smith Bill and Sherman's Pigs

Paul L. Blakely

THE AMERICA PRESS

NEW YORK CITY

## AMERICA

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1919

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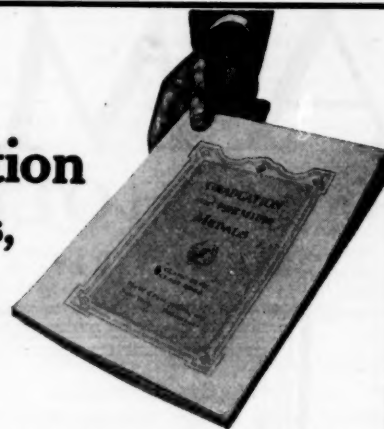
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# AMERICA

A·CATHOLIC·REVIEW·OF·THE·WEEK

VOL. XXI. No. 8 }  
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MAY 31, 1919

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## Chronicle

**The War.**—The Council of Four at Paris took into consideration the military terms of the treaty with Austria as framed by Marshal Foch, Commander-in-

### *The Peace Terms for Austria*

Chief of the Allied armies, General Diaz, supreme commander of the Italian army, and other military leaders. According to the terms of the preliminary draft, Austria's army of more than 1,000,000 men, will be reduced to 15,000 men; practically all military supplies will be surrendered, and all further military production abolished. The naval terms are as sweeping: all warships will be surrendered, and Austria's power as a naval power will be brought to an end. The Council also considered the economic terms to be enforced; these, however, were not made known. The full terms of the treaty will be considered in a plenary session of the Council and then laid before Karl Renner and the other Austrian delegates who have been for some time in Paris. The American delegation prepared a memorandum showing the status of affairs still before the Peace Conference. The memorandum indicates that a vast amount of business is still to be transacted, besides the Turkish and Bulgarian treaties, covering the whole range of inter-allied subjects.

The fate of Turkey seems to be virtually decided, with the exception of the possible American mandates. The Empire is to be carved into five, probably six, parts, depending on whether the United States

### *Turkey's Fate*

is willing to administer any mandate. It will be totally destroyed as a sovereign State. The new political and territorial units to be created out of the old Ottoman Empire will be in all probability Mesopotamia and Palestine, which will pass under British mandate, Syria under French mandate, the Asia Minor Seaboard under Greek mandate, Constantinople possibly under American mandate, Anatolia possibly under American mandate, Armenia possibly under Italian mandate. A seventh unit, the former Turkish province of Arabia, has already been recognized by the Conference as the fully independent Kingdom of Hedjaz.

President Wilson met with special difficulties in settling the fate of Constantinople. He seemed inclined for a

time to accept the British proposal to let the Sultan remain at Constantinople, while Professor Westermann and other American experts advised that the Sultan should be relegated to Brusa or Konia. The difficulty of settling the problem is largely due to the President's inability to pledge America to a mandate. Owing to this objection a proposal was made according to which an American governor-general and American administrators were to be immediately appointed to control Constantinople and the Straits, to be responsible directly to the League of Nations, thus requiring no mandate, the Senate being left free to assume a mandate later. No final decision, however, was taken.

At the request of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German peace delegation, the Germans were granted an extension of seven days, until May 29, to

### *Germany and the Peace Terms*

reply in full to the peace terms. In his request for an extension of time, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau said the German delegates intended to submit suggestions with regard to the territories in the East, Alsace-Lorraine, occupied territories, reparation, labor and German private property in enemy countries. In the meantime the German Cabinet at Berlin gave out a statement which declared that Germany declined to sign the peace terms submitted to it, "because they spell the economic destruction, political dishonor and moral degradation of the entire German nation, not only for the present but for still unborn generations." The statement referred to the peace treaty as a "paragraphed song of hate."

Consideration of Germany's protest regarding the Saar Valley resulted in some slight modifications of the terms of the award. Berlin dispatches received in Paris indicate that German opposition to the treaty centers to a large extent about the Allied Commission on Reparations created for the collection of indemnities. The Germans regard this provision as an infringement of their sovereignty and declare that submission to a commission with such broad powers would mean nothing for them but slavery. To the note of the German delegates on the effect of the economic peace terms, the Allied Council sent a categorical negative. The reply characterizes the German note as exaggerated and says that it indicates



failure to recognize the enormity of the German responsibility. The Germans were reminded that "it is right that Germany which was responsible for the origin of these calamities should make them good to the utmost of her capacity." "Her hardships," the note continues, "will arise, not from the conditions of peace, but from the acts of those who provoked this prolonged war. Those who were responsible for the war cannot escape its just consequences." The Allied reply to the German note regarding the League of Nations says in general that "the proposals for the Covenant are much more practical than those of the German Government and better calculated to secure the objects of the League." Regarding the suggestion of a separate mediation office, the Allied note states that this is not feasible, since such a body would not have the requisite authority to maintain the peace of the world. The German League of Nations plan contains sixty-five clauses. It agrees in general with the Paris Conference Covenant, but proposes several amendments, including compulsory arbitration and an international parliament, both of which were declared impracticable by the League of Nations Commission. The Allied reply points out the general coincidence of the German plan with the Paris Covenant and the impracticable nature of the innovations.

**Home News.**—Congress met in special session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, Monday, May 19. Both houses were organized by the Republicans. In the Senate, the Repub-

*Congress; the Special Session Opens*

licans, with a majority of two, elected Senator Cummins, of Iowa, president *pro tempore*. The organization of the Senate proceeded smoothly under the leadership of Senator Lodge, but a difficulty occurred in the naming of the important Committee on Committees. Senator Lodge appointed Senators Borah, Idaho, and Johnson, California, as Progressive members of the Committee. Both Senators refused the appointment, under the plea that the Progressives had agreed that the Progressive members of this Committee should be Senators Jones, Washington, and Kenyon, Iowa. Senator Lodge afterward named Senators McNary, Oregon, and Gronna, North Dakota, for the Progressives and they accepted. In the House, the Republicans have a majority of thirty-nine. Frederick H. Gillett, Republican representative from Massachusetts, was elected Speaker. The House refused to seat Victor L. Berger, the Milwaukee Socialist leader, convicted under the espionage act.

The President's message to Congress, which was cabled from Paris to Washington, the first Presidential message to be thus transmitted, was read in the Senate and the House on May 20. Briefly summarized the message contained these salient features: Progressive improvement in the conditions of labor which must lead to "a genuine cooperation and partnership based upon a real community of interest and participation in control,"

with Federal and State help to bring about this condition; the creation of settlements for returned soldiers and sailors as advocated by Secretary of the Interior Lane; legislation to build up the shipping industry and facilitate American enterprise in foreign markets; reduction of the income war profits and inheritance taxes, with some adjustment in the latter on account of the double tax resulting from similar taxes imposed by the States; elimination as soon as possible of the various excise taxes on manufactures and the taxes on retail sales; increase of the tariff on dyes and chemicals to prevent these American industries from being brought into competition with German products; opposition to a general tariff revision of our import duties, and a recommendation that the United States be prepared to adopt retaliatory measures, if any other country should impose a discriminatory tariff on American products; passage of the woman suffrage resolution and its immediate submission to the State legislatures; return of the railroads to their owners at the end of the calendar year, and of the telephone and telegraph systems at an early date, with the suggestion that legislation be enacted to make these systems a more coordinated and uniform part of the national life; repeal of war-time Prohibition, since demobilization has progressed so far as to make it safe to allow light wines and beer to be sold; insistence that the President has not the authority to raise the ban.

In the country at large, while many welcomed the recommendation to lift the war-time Prohibition measure, dry leaders in both the House and the Senate declared that it would be impossible to get wet legislation through Congress. A canvass made of the two Houses showed that the dries would win in the Senate by a two-thirds majority and probably more, and in the House by more than a three-fourths majority. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of which Mr. Wilson is an elder, and the Northern Baptist Convention both adopted resolutions condemning his stand taken in the recommendation to lift the war-time Prohibition ban.

In the House the woman suffrage amendment was passed for the second time by a vote of 304 to 89. The amendment is expected to go to the Senate early next month, and the suffragists openly declare that they are certain of victory. The Republican majority in the House passed the war-risk insurance deficiency bill and declined all responsibility for delay in the payment of family allotments and separation allowances. The Senate has still to act, but no delay is expected. The payment however of back allowances cannot begin until the President has signed the bill.

The case of Brother Thomas Rahilly, Superior-General of the Presentation Brothers, has ended with apologies falling thick as autumn leaves from representatives of both the Canadian and the American Governments. As chronicled last week, Brother Rahilly, on his arrival in New York, a religious man intent solely on the per-

*Brother Rahilly's Vindication*



formance of his religious duties, was jailed on Ellis Island, in company with "Reds," Bolsheviks, anarchists and other such people. The charges against him were made by certain Canadian army officers who were either too indifferent in their loyalty to Great Britain, or too cowardly to appear at the hearing. As nothing could be proved against the Brother, his guilt was apparently taken for granted, and he was held without bail until communication could be established with responsible Canadian officials. The Canadian Government, however, declared that it had no knowledge of any charges against the Brother, and sent a personal representative "to deliver the Dominion Government's apology for any annoyance caused through the inordinate and overzealous activities of officers who did not represent the Government, although wearing Canadian uniforms." In addition to this, the officials at Washington ordered the Brother's instant release, Vice-President Marshall assuming the responsibility for any evil results which might follow the Brother's religious work in any part of the United States.

The Canadian and United States Governments have apologized for the conduct of Baker and Uhl in acting without evidence, upon the orders of foreign officials and carrying out their instructions. Beyond this the authorities at Washington have made no move, but it is promised that a shakeup is imminent, and will result in an investigation of American officials who seem to think they are required to look for orders from Downing street or Ottawa, rather than from Washington.

Thus, for the present, ends the story of how Brother Rahilly made entrance into the land of the free.

**France.**—Many schemes involving new political programs and affiliations are being advocated in France. Among these the movement called *La Démocratie Nouvelle* occupies a prominent place and has attracted a great deal of attention. Its foremost propagandist has been writing anonymously under the pen-name of *Lysis*, and his ideas are accepted as the profession of faith of the new party. These ideas have been subjected to searching scrutiny by *La Croix*, and found in many points just and admirable, but at the same time not such as can deserve the support of Catholics.

The New Democracy accuses the actual Government of having brought France to the abyss and maintains that to keep this Government in power is to rob the country of all hope of regaining its former condition. Some of the political and social cockle it has sown are alcoholism, depopulation, routine, enfeebled economic production and anarchy, all of which have resulted from the strong hold kept on the State by a group of politicians devoid at once of honesty and ability, who, while cloaking themselves under the fair names of liberty, fraternity and equality, and while preaching the sovereignty of the people and democracy, have concentrated their attention on ministering to their own passions. The consequence is that the people, having seen nothing issue from the promises of

their leaders but deceit eventuating by tortuous proceedings in selfish gain for politicians, have come to distrust the motives of any one who essays to assist them.

As a remedy for this state of things, the New Democracy proposes a radical change not merely in the personnel of the Government but in the form of the Government. The broad lines of the reform, by which it is proposed to restore France to prosperity and power, are a division of government, by which the executive function shall be taken from the Parliament, which at present possesses it, and vested in a separate branch, Parliament retaining merely the control. In this way it is hoped that an élite will be created, which will preside over the Government and at the same time minister to the intellectual and moral welfare of the country, and that the direction of affairs in all spheres of activity will fall to those who are competent. Universal suffrage, reform of the electoral system, votes for women, and an understanding between labor and capital are other planks in the platform. Economic legislation, giving full credit to the share which intellect as opposed to labor has in progress, is to be framed, and a system of education set up, based on science and a sense of realities. Toward religion the State is to exercise a benevolent neutrality. These are some of the aspects of the reform advocated by the New Democracy, certainly not original but nevertheless felt to be practical, which have won for the movement so large a measure of support that it has to be reckoned with in plans for the reconstruction of France.

In spite of these appeals for popular approbation, *La Croix* does not find it possible to indorse the new party. The role assigned to religion is merely personal, a matter of the individual conscience, no place being reserved for it in the State, which is to remain neutral and benevolent to all beliefs that help to sustain morality. Religion, according to the New Democracy, cannot give rules for society, it is not a source of positive action, it is not a true doctrine, and whatever good influence it exerts is restricted to the individual; it should not therefore be banished from private life, but it is to have no part in public life.

In place of religion, as a motive force, the New Democracy substitutes science which it declares is the soul of the modern spirit, and which is to engender, not the resignation, submission, mysticism and idealism of the religious days which are gone forever, but is to produce men of science, of practicality, of realism. Its civilization is to be produced, not by Christian ideals, but by talent and energy, motivated by self-interest and leading to power; its character is positivist, its goal is the production and diffusion of material advantages, its preoccupation is concerned with the things of sense. The conclusion of *La Croix*, therefore, is that the new party is inspired by the same "lay" spirit which animates the actual Government, and that its scheme of reconstruction can never satisfy those who believe that God is the cornerstone of the social order.

**Ireland.**—On the return to Paris from Ireland of the three delegates sent from the United States to the Peace Conference, to plead Ireland's cause, Mr. Michael Ryan,

*The American  
Delegates*

a member of the committee, gave an interview to the press, in which he emphasized the unity of the Irish and the general absence of religious intolerance. The delegates then sent this letter to Mr. Lansing:

SIR: On behalf of and representing the Irish Race Convention, held in Philadelphia on February 22 last, we very respectfully request your good offices to procure from the British Government safe conduct from Dublin to Paris and return for Messrs. De Valera, Griffith and Plunkett, the elected representatives of the people of Ireland, so they may present the claims of Ireland for international recognition as a republic to the Peace Conference.

As you know, the British Government assented to our going to Ireland. We went for the purpose of conferring with the representatives of the Irish people and ascertaining their views for ourselves, at first hand, and a knowledge of the conditions prevailing in that country. We have returned from there more desirous than ever that the authorized representatives of Ireland be given an opportunity to appear and present the case of Ireland to the representatives of the assembled nations.

Awaiting a favorable and early reply, we are, sir, yours very respectfully,

FRANK P. WALSH,  
EDWARD F. DUNNE,  
MICHAEL F. RYAN.

Failing to get satisfaction from our Secretary of State, the delegates addressed the President as follows:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Following the interview courteously accorded by you to the chairman of our delegation on the 17th ult., Colonel House made the following request of Lloyd George: that safe conduct be given by the Government of Great Britain from Dublin to Paris and return for Edward De Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett, the representatives selected by the people of Ireland to present its case to the Peace Conference.

Upon the day following, Colonel House conveyed the information that Lloyd George was willing to comply with such request but desired an interview with the American delegates before doing so, and it was the desire of Lloyd George that arrangements for meeting him be made through Philip Kerr, his private secretary.

After two tentative dates had been set by Kerr for meeting him, and not yet having met him, we were advised by Colonel House to repeat our original request in writing to Secretary Lansing, which we did on the 17th inst. At this moment we have been informed by the private secretary to Secretary Lansing that our request has been referred to you.

May we not therefore respectfully ask of you that the undersigned, our full delegation, be given an opportunity to present to you in person, in as brief manner as is consistent with the importance of the case, suggestions which Messrs. De Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett have asked us to convey to you, together with certain facts of grave importance now in our possession?

May we also take the liberty of suggesting, in view of existing conditions in Ireland, which are rank and will not be denied, that to foreclose its case by refusing a hearing to its representatives at this time would be dissonant with the declared purpose for which the war was prosecuted and out of harmony with the common principles of democracy?

We would greatly appreciate a response at your convenience, and with assurance of our continued high regard, sincerely,

FRANK P. WALSH,  
EDWARD F. DUNNE,  
MICHAEL F. RYAN.

Press dispatches declare that Mr. Wilson has refused to ask for the requested safe conduct. Meantime Sinn Fein is not idle. Messrs. De Valera, Griffiths and Plunkett have sent the following communication to M. Clemenceau:

The treaties now under discussion by the conference in Paris will presumably be signed by the British plenipotentiaries, claiming to act in behalf of Ireland as well as Great Britain. Therefore, we must ask you to call the immediate attention of the Conference to the warning it is our duty to communicate, that the people of Ireland, through all its organic means of declaration, have repudiated the claim of the British Government to speak or to act in behalf of Ireland, and consequently no treaty or agreement entered into by the British representatives in virtue of that claim is or can be binding on the people of Ireland.

The Irish people will scrupulously observe any treaty obligation to which they are legitimately committed, but the British delegates cannot commit Ireland. The only signatures by which the Irish nation will be bound are those of its delegates deliberately chosen.

We request you to notify the Peace Conference that we, the undersigned, have been appointed and authorized by the duly elected National Government of Ireland to act on behalf of Ireland in the proceedings of the conference and to enter into agreements and sign the treaties in behalf of Ireland.

As a further protest against British domination Sinn Fein has decided not to pay the income tax imposed by the British Government.

**Rome.**—One of the States which has emerged from the disintegration of Russia is Esthonia. This new nation feels the need of the moral support of the Papacy,

*Esthonia and the  
Vatican*

and with a view to obtaining this support it sent a special envoy to the Holy See. M. Edward Wirgo, acting as the diplomatic representative of the republic, asked and was granted a private audience with the Pope. During the course of the interview he declared, in the name of his Government, that the Catholic religion would be accorded absolute liberty and respect in Esthonia, in accordance with the Constitution. He further requested that the Holy See should recognize his country as an independent State, and should establish direct diplomatic relations with it. After the Pope had assured M. Wirgo of the moral support of the Papacy, Cardinal Gasparri sent the following message to the Esthonian Government:

The Holy Father is most sensible of the steps taken by the Provisional Government of Esthonia to inform Him of the situation existing in that country. He is desirous of giving assurance that he cherishes in his heart great sympathy for those peoples which have been so severely tried during the war and which hope to obtain through their independence a happier future. The Holy See hastens to recognize provisionally the National Council of Esthonia as a *de facto* independent organization, until the Peace Congress shall have pronounced on the definite systematization of the countries. In the meantime the Holy See is glad to maintain direct relations with Esthonia and hopes that the right of self-determination will be recognized in its case as in the case of the other lands.

From this document it appears once again that Pope Benedict XV is the steadfast adherent of his principle of according realization to the just aspirations of peoples.



## Ireland and Article X

J. C. WALSH

*Staff Correspondent at the Peace Conference*

**A**S the end of the Peace Conference approaches, the Irish delegates in Paris are in a very excusable mood of anxiety. At this writing there has been no response to the communications made to the Conference by the Irish National Assembly, through Mr. O'Kelly. President Wilson has received Mr. Frank P. Walsh, Chairman of the American Delegation appointed by the Irish Race Convention held on Washington's birthday at Philadelphia; Mr. Lloyd George asked to meet the delegation and then withdrew his request. However it is still hoped that the pressure brought to bear may produce a declaration regarding Ireland, either by the Conference of the Allies or by England alone, before, as is considered certain to happen, the issue as to Ireland, India and Egypt is raised by the Germans. It is realized by Mr. O'Kelly and by Mr. Gavan Duffy, who has come here to join and advise with the former, that the opponents of the Irish claim would seize upon a German mention of the subject as an excuse for stiffening English opposition. They are therefore leaving nothing undone to convince the representatives of America, France, Italy and Japan—as well as the British and Dominion delegates to the Conference—that the appeal of Ireland is firmly based upon the principles of ordered freedom, that have been so admirably expounded by Mr. Wilson. If the delegates of the Entente Allies choose to leave it to the Germans to bring Ireland within the range of discussion, the fault will be their own, for they have received two communications which leave no room for misunderstanding about the position of affairs in Ireland, about what Ireland expects from a Conference engaged in applying the principle of self-determination, or about Ireland's objection to having the status of subject-nationhood expressly imposed upon her by the instrument constituting the League of Nations. Mr. Wilson in particular has been reminded that Ireland is profoundly in earnest. It has been suggested by some observers impressed by the apparent cordiality of the President's relations with British statesmen, that he may entertain some reserves concerning the application to Ireland of the words he has spoken, but it will never be possible for **him to plead that Ireland has failed to let him know her mind on the subject, for with the letter protesting against the injury to Ireland involved in Article X of the League Convention went a reminder to Mr. Wilson of the encouragement his words had given to the Irish people, and assurance of the confidence reposed in his willingness and ability to give effect to his declarations.** There was, too, an appeal to him to champion the cause of Ireland in the Conference.

It has been commented, not only by newspaper critics but by lawyers accustomed to interpret the language of

contracts, that there is possibly only one positive, definite obligation imposed upon the countries which will adhere to the League of Nations, and that that obligation is contained in Article X under which each member of the League guarantees against external aggression the territorial status and existing political independence of all the parties to the agreement. Had such a contract been in existence a quarter of a century ago Cuba would have been free to effect her release from Spanish rule, but the United States would have been inhibited from those acts of external aggression against Spain which resulted in the freedom of Cuba. Had such a contract been in existence a century and a half ago, the American colonies would have been free to effect their release from British rule, but France would have been inhibited from sending the military and naval assistance which enabled Washington to turn the scale in favor of the independence of America. Had such a contract been in existence a century ago the Latin populations of South America would have been free to struggle for their freedom against all the power represented by the Holy Alliance, but Monroe would have been inhibited from giving them the encouragement without which they could not have hoped for success.

Spain in her time, France in her time, the United States in its time, have all given military or moral countenance to the Irish claim for national freedom. Hereafter, every country which enters the League of Nations obliges itself to refrain from giving any assistance. For the nations to enter into such an engagement would mean, in practical effect, that a definite guarantee would be given of England's right to rule Ireland, as now, in contravention of all the principles enunciated by Mr. Wilson in his Opera House speech; and Ireland has protested to Mr. Wilson against that. It would be impossible to defend, with any regard for equity, the initiation by the Peace Conference of international legislation whose penalizing effect upon a single nation can be so readily foreseen. Still less could the Conference be excused for refusing to Ireland an open hearing in opposition to the threatened wrong. There is at this moment some slight expectation that a hearing will be promised, but there is also a prevalent assumption that if, as a result of American pressure on England, Mr. De Valera and his associates are permitted to come to Paris, they will be expected to show their gratitude for that condescension by adjourning the statement of Ireland's case until some time in the future, until the Peace Conference has gone out of existence, until peace terms have been signed, until Article X has been made the basis of the international relations of the next century, and until, in a time uncertain, a loophole may possibly be found in the phraseology of the League

Convention through which the case of Ireland can be smuggled into the agenda at one of the sessions of the League.

Delays such as are apprehended would be dangerous to Ireland, who wants her case brought before the whole Conference to the end that her international status may be recognized, and would be correspondingly agreeable to those in England who insist that Irish affairs are matter of English domestic concern. Nevertheless, every advance is a gain, and it is satisfactory to note that the atmosphere has recently changed for the better. When the American Delegation arrived at Havre they were received and entertained by the local representative of M. Tardieu, Head of the Bureau on Franco-American Relations. When this was mentioned in Paris the correspondent of an English newspaper was frankly scandalized. He ventured the opinion that the overzealous official would get himself into trouble. He is one of Lord Northcliffe's young men, and his attitude left no room for doubt that the men he was interviewing had no right to be here, that they were present on sufferance at most, by way of concession to these extraordinary Americans who never do seem to get the proper European viewpoint, and that anything like countenance to such interlopers on the part of the French authorities was not merely insupportable but scarcely credible. Nevertheless, M. Tardieu has continued to show courtesies to Messrs. Walsh, Dunne and Ryan. No doubt there is a definite distinction in his mind between men who come from America, and who will return there, and men who come from Ireland direct.

The latter cannot complain of being overwhelmed with French hospitality. They know, in fact, that there is a standing instruction to French editors to be very careful about letting items relating to Ireland into their papers. Except for a short paragraph in *Le Temps*, the papers have ignored Mr. O'Kelly's protest against Article X, copies of which were sent to all of them. On the other hand, items of anti-Irish propaganda, which appear first in the Paris edition of the *Daily Mail* are reproduced in the provincial press all over France. The clipping bureaus supply evidence of this in unwelcome abundance. The other day *Le Temps* printed an extract from a bitterly partisan utterance by Lord Birkenhead, the erstwhile F. E. Smith, whose accelerated departure from the United States, if it were remembered, might have cast some doubt upon the reliability of his public utterances. When Mr. Duffy protested to the editor he was favored with the reply that it would be manifestly impossible to suggest a doubt of the accuracy of a statement made by so exalted a person as the Lord Chancellor of England. Even so pronounced an enemy of Nationalist Ireland as Sir Edward Carson's first lieutenant in the Ulster rebellion proceedings must therefore be believed in France, when he accuses his opponents of entering upon a policy of assassination. France owes that courtesy, it seems, to the British Government, at least during the period in

which France is demanding the support of England for her views in regard to the remaking of the map of Europe. In Italy they are not so cautious. About the time the Italians made up their minds that England was against them in their disputes with the Croats and Serbs, Italian papers began publishing long and forceful articles about Ireland, and there are plentiful indications here that this method of reaching the weak joint in England's armor has attractions for the coldly calculating political minds of the angry Italians.

The Japanese are engagingly cynical. They say they have in Corea a problem with certain resemblances to that of Ireland, that they dislike American meddling in their domestic business, that their surest dependence is upon the support of England, and that therefore they must deprive themselves of the emotional pleasure to be derived from considering the applicability to Ireland of any or all of the formulas consecrated by the approval of the American President. There is a most engaging detachment about the Japanese anyhow. Their bodies are here but the thinking is done for them in Tokio. When the Ten were meeting the Japanese used to sit silent day after day, writing copious notes to be sent to Tokio. The proceeding got on the nerves of all the others, almost wrecked the Conference, and contributed materially to the decision to substitute the Four for the Ten. They carry interested politeness to the point of prodding into a show of mirth those of their number who are obviously bored by the stupid conversation of members of other missions. They are playing for their own hand all the time; even the denial of their demand for a declaration of racial equality has its profitable side, for they think it has brought China nearer to them than a century of negotiation might have done. China interests them a great deal more than Ireland. From the English press the Irish delegates do not look for very much. Now and then, however, there does appear in an English paper of anti-government proclivities a declaration in favor of self-determination for Ireland. Long experience has taught Irishmen, however, that the desire to destroy an existing British Cabinet is one thing and the implanting of declarations favorable to Ireland quite another.

On the whole, therefore, the men who have come here from Ireland to press Ireland's case upon the Peace Conference may be pardoned an occasional query as to the value of their services. They have knocked at the door of the Conference; if the door is not to be opened, what will they have gained? What will be the reaction upon those for the promotion of whose cause they have come? The coming of the Egyptian delegation is not without a bearing upon these questions. When it was proposed that the Egyptian nationalists should be represented in Paris, the British authorities, on the ground that Egypt is a domestic matter, objected; the delegates set out, were arrested, and were interned at Malta. When rebellion started, and England was obliged to choose



between rebellion in Egypt and the presence in Paris of a delegation which could be ignored, side-tracked or delayed, the delegates were allowed to proceed. Egypt's case is not unlike that of Ireland, because when England decided, in the autumn of 1914, to eject the Turkish authority and set up a British protectorate, France, Italy and Russia concurred. Egypt has not had the chance, as Ireland has, to affirm its purpose through the medium of a general election. Yet Egypt has had a rebellion and the official delegates are here. Ireland has been passive and Mr. De Valera, Mr. Griffiths, and Count Plunkett are not here yet. Who knows, therefore, but that the presence of Mr. O'Kelly and Mr. Duffy in Paris may have had an influence upon Ireland very useful to British statesmen with troubles enough on their hands? And who knows, either, what anger may be generated in Ireland by the impassive refusal of the Peace Conference to give ear to Irish appeals?

What is clear is that, from the English viewpoint, the occasion for testing the realities of Irish determination will be more propitious after the Conference is over and the peace agreement has been signed. But it may not improbably prove also that from the viewpoint of Ireland, the capacity for asserting that determination will be improved by the fact that everything which conceptions of statesmanship enjoined upon the Irish National Assembly to do, has been done. If the hearing of Ireland's case has been impeded or prevented by others, there has been no neglect of opportunity or avoidance of effort that can fairly be charged against the Irish themselves. Anything that has been gained in Paris will be so much to the good. The consciousness that the present emergency has been met should enable those who have other tasks to face to approach them with the consciousness of responsibilities fairly faced and of duty done.

It is but right, also, to say that if the Irish delegates find themselves obliged to take back to Ireland the message that Ireland is in a situation actually worse, internationally, than when the Conference began, it will be because this same Article X, whose acceptance will be productive of that result, is regarded by President Wilson as vital to the success of the Peace Conference. The obligation to guarantee territorial possessions was one of the two governing provisions in the draft convention submitted by Lord Robert Cecil, out of which the first joint draft was evolved. The other governing provision was an agreement to make war upon a State which refused to submit to certain well-defined delays. There are some who think that the Cecil proposal was drawn with the assistance of members of the British mission in Washington who knew what the American wishes were. Be that as it may, members of the British delegation have shied at the obligation to guarantee all existing titles without examination and without hearing protests. Their provision has been at least partially justified by the demands of Corea and the Philippines, and they are frankly embarrassed by the demands from Ireland, Egypt and

the Boer nationalists. It is even stated that the British peace conferees have expressed a desire to drop the clause, and that it is Mr. Wilson who insists upon the necessity of its retention. Obviously, if this is so, it is not because the President wishes to subject Corea, Egypt or Ireland to new hardship in direct contravention of all his ideals but because he has another and a weighty object to serve.

My own appreciation is that the President's insistence should be interpreted in the light of the situation of Poland and of the claims of France. Napoleon set up a Duchy of Poland, inspired by the same considerations which dominate this Conference, and by the same considerations, for that matter, which dominated the policy of several of the kings of France. To set up the Duchy was one thing, to continue a self-contained Poland in existence with no proper military boundaries either towards Russia or towards Germany was, and is, something very different. Similarly, Napoleon, thinking of the security of France, set up the Rhine Confederation. Today the advanced French demand made by those who refuse to discuss the peace except in terms of the security of France, is for a military régime which shall be omnipotent over an area extending well to the eastward of the Rhine. They ask in addition for the dismemberment of Germany, for the disruption of that unity which was procured after so protracted an effort, and by the violences of Bismarckian statecraft. Mr. Wilson presumably has no idea of imposing upon America the permanent and undivided responsibility for the continuance of Polish independence. Neither does he contemplate the disintegration of Germany. Yet he cannot encourage the erection of a Polish State which shall endure for but an hour, nor can he be deaf to France's argument that, left alone in presence of Germany and Austria united, France would enter upon another phase of the nightmare which has already lasted fifty years.

France wants a protective alliance, and the protection once to be had from Russia is no longer available. France wants England and America in an alliance with her, the symbol of which will be the presence of their soldiers on the Rhine. Mr. Wilson is against alliances, but he does not want France to be, or to feel, deserted. It has been given out in the last few days that if France were invaded, England and America would come to her rescue. Under Article X of the League of Nations, if that clause were once accepted, all members of the League, including America and England, but not exclusive of the other members, would be obliged to go to France's aid in case a sudden attack were made upon her. This surely it is which is meant when the French say they have received satisfactory assurances. No doubt most Americans will be well disposed towards this design of securing the safety of France and the freedom of Poland by a co-ordination of the strength of all the nations which join in the League. But no doubt also there are a great many Americans who will shrink from conferring this

great favor upon France and Poland at the cost of expressly withdrawing from Ireland the application of the principles upon which such favors to France and Poland are based. Irish nationality is as distinctive and as insuppressible as that of either France or Poland.

Ireland's determination to live her own life in her own way has been affirmed many times and in many forms, and now under the direct inspiration of Mr. Wilson himself. The President must, and doubtless does, realize that it will be difficult for Americans to adopt his general design in presence of so flagrant an exception. I have no means of knowing whether the bearing of Article X upon the case of Ireland was present to his consciousness before he received Mr. O'Kelly's communication on the subject, but I believe it is a fact that very soon after the Irish protest was received he did invite the attention of one or more of his colleagues to the case of Ireland. I think it is right to add, whether he is aware of it or not, there is a deep-rooted conviction on the part of many

present at the Peace Conference that, because of the dependence of all the Great Powers upon America for the satisfaction of one or another necessity, whether immediate or permanent, it is within Mr. Wilson's power to secure for Ireland that perfect assurance of the right to live her own life which he purposes to guarantee to other peoples, some of them great and some of them small, but none of them so closely related, in blood, in history or in ideals, to the people of the United States. The disposition of the Irish-American delegation now here is to assume that he knows his power and means to use it. In another letter I propose to outline from conversations I have had here, some of the difficulties in the way of giving proper expression to Ireland's desire to live her own life if the Conference results, in her regard, in absolute negation of the Wilson principles, difficulties which will be in no wise lessened by the fact that the rest of the world will be the beneficiary of the sacrifice demanded of her.

## The Federal Council of the Churches

FRANCIS BEATTIE.

THE nature of the Federal Council of Churches can best be learned from its official organ, the *Federal Council Bulletin*. It is described as "A Journal of Religious Cooperation and Inter-Church Activities," and is published monthly by the "Religious Publicity Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America." It is evidently also the accepted organ of the new "United Protestantism." The connection of the Federal Council with the evangelical drive is at once plain from the fact that the Rev. Henry Churchill King, at the head of the "Special Mission" of the Y. M. C. A. in France, is Chairman of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, of this organization; the Rev. James I. Vance, also in France on that special mission of wondrous possibilities, is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council; the Rev. Dr. Macfarland, former Y worker in France, is not only the General Secretary of the Council, but is Secretary of its Commission on Relations with the Orient and Chairman of its Committee for Christian Relief in France and Belgium. Dr. Robert E. Speer, one of the speakers at that initial meeting of the Inter-Church Emergency Committee referred to in the previous article, is Chairman of the Council's General War-Time Commission of the Churches. Which would indicate that that "special mission" was left pretty much in the hands of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

In the first issue of the Council's *Bulletin*, January, 1918, the Commission on the Church and Social Service, reports that: "Arrangements are under way with the Commissioner of Education in Washington, by which a special secretary is to be added to the staff, to devote himself to the organization of the churches for the Americanization of immigrants. There have been con-

stant and increasing cooperation with national social agencies and movements, and most unusual relations with departments of the national Government."

Whether the duties of this special secretary have anything to do with bills which have been introduced in the Legislative bodies of certain States, notably Kansas, forbidding all but American citizens to teach in public or parochial schools, is not made clear. But he who runs may read.

The annual report of the General Secretary of the Federal Council given in the same issue, announces that "A new committee was reported to take up the question of cooperation between all the religious organizations doing evangelical work in France and Belgium," and that "important recommendations are made . . . relative to the deepening of relationships with French Protestantism." The work of the Rev. Henri Anet of the Franco-Belgian Evangelization Committee is "highly commended." Correspondence has been continued with religious leaders in Holland, relative to "closer cooperation with the evangelical forces in that country," and the report has a great deal to say about the message brought to the "Christian Churches of America," by the French army chaplain delegates, Lauga and Monod, from the French Federation of Protestant Churches.

These men, of course, came to America, "on a purely fraternal mission, with definite aims." But somehow, their work in this country recalls the words of Dr. Mott in that Carnegie Hall speech, wherein he spoke of putting \$2,500 in the hands of a Frenchman, and asking that he find a way to get the Y. M. C. A. into France. It will be recalled, too, that Dr. Mott said, that after months of effort, the Frenchman performed the task for which the \$2,500 was placed in his hand, and performed it so



well that the French War Ministry "sent a deputation to New York and laid before the National War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. the request of the French Government that we spread our work," etc. Were these two French chaplains, delegates from the French Protestant Churches to the American Protestant Churches, likewise the delegates of the French War Ministry? Certain it is that the men worked for the Y. M. C. A. during their visit to this country, for the February *Bulletin* says:

Chaplain Lauga, on his tour worked not only for his own mission, but also in behalf of the Y. M. C. A. campaign. In Pittsburgh, he addressed a meeting of Red Cross workers, in the First Presbyterian Church, and in the Y. M. C. A. showed lantern-slide pictures of Reims, Verdun and other spots in the war-zone.

The men, remember, were "on a purely fraternal mission." At Nashville he addressed the University Club and the Commerce Club, as well as several churches. In Memphis, his time "was devoted almost wholly to the Y. M. C. A. campaign," and he feels that his visit to Memphis will prove fruitful, since practically nothing had been done in that city in behalf of the French churches," which significant sentence would make it appear that Chaplain Lauga's time in Memphis, "devoted almost wholly to the Y. M. C. A. campaign," must have had something to do with the French Protestant churches, since he looks upon his work there as prophetic of a rich harvest.

Further evidence of that "most unusual relation with departments of the national Government," referred to in the January *Bulletin*, is given on page nineteen of the March number by Bishop W. P. Thirkield, who makes reports about a voluntary field secretary, *with an assistant*, in matters affecting the welfare of negro troops, the *assistant* having been appointed by the *Secretary of War*. This assistant, Emmett J. Scott, through the Fosdick Commission, has placed a number of workers in the camp communities and recommended that "measures be taken looking to larger activity on the part of the colored churches."

In the April number of the *Bulletin* a great religious rally was announced to be held in New York on April 4, 1918, arranged for by that committee of the Federal Council which blandly declared that "we are interested in its [the war's] political aims," though not specifically organized for that purpose. An imposing array of names of prominent men are given, who volunteered their services, as speech-makers in the cause. From William H. Taft, Alton B. Parker, Talcott Williams, the list runs the gamut until it includes the Rev. Dr. Macfarland and Sidney Catts, Governor of Florida. A number of ministers, representatives of foreign missions, and George A. Plimpton, President of Ginn & Co., compose the committee to "mobilize patriotic opinion" in support of the President's war policies, "by a campaign of education in or through the churches."

Governor Catts' name is well to the fore, in the list of speakers printed in the April, 1918, number of the *Bulletin*. The subjects of the speeches are not given, but meetings are scheduled for Michigan, beginning with Detroit, April 24, and ending with Marquette, May 29, 1918. Readers of AMERICA will remember that Governor Catts spoke in Detroit, the evenings of May 1 and 2, 1918, under the auspices of the Wayne County Civic Association, an association that was trying then, and is trying now, to abolish the parochial schools of that State by legislation. When Governor Catts visited Detroit last May no one of importance recognized him, so fearful were his backers of an aroused public opinion. Thus it is significant that a man listed as a fellow-speaker in the good cause noted in the April *Bulletin*, Bishop Theodore S. Henderson of Detroit, knew him not in that city. "What's the matter with your D.D.'s and LL.D.'s? What, are you afraid of the stuffed bogey of Rome? Why, down in Florida, I talk to acres of people," fumed Governor Catts. But the people of Michigan were not interested in his attacks on the Catholic Church. After he had been refused halls and given orders by local authorities, outside of Detroit, to adhere to his advertised subject, "Americanism," or quit, Catts folded up his tents and disappeared. Yet we are told that the Rev. Charles S. Macfarland spent the days from March 12 to March 20, 1918, "on a speaking tour of Florida, with Governor Catts and Mr. Glen Frank." The subjects of the speeches are not given, but the reputation of Governor Catts is such that no mention of his subject need be made. Is it possible that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ brought Governor Catts to Michigan to aid in the movement of abolishing the parochial schools? This does not seem unlikely in the light of recent events in Detroit, of the meetings and speakers backed by prominent members of the Federal Council and kindred organizations.

Passing over other numbers of the *Bulletin*, we find that such space in the September issue as is not taken up with the "photos" of Dr. Macfarland in various poses, in Y uniform, is given over to a report of his mission to France. The administrative Committee of the Federal Council deems the Report of the Commissioner to France of sufficient importance, to take up the entire September *Bulletin*. No mission to France has aroused "such national and popular sympathy in France," we are told, as this one, representing the churches. The French press gave the fullest publicity to the utterances of the Commissioner. The press of the neutral nations followed suit. In his report Dr. Macfarland says:

During my visit to the American forces, I was under commission by the Y. M. C. A. and am deeply indebted to Secretary E. C. Carter, etc. The priests with the Knights of Columbus wear the insignia of the chaplains, the Cross, and designate themselves as chaplains, but this does not have the approval of the army, so far as I could learn.

How the man would squirm if a Catholic priest, wear-

ing the K. C. uniform was sent to France on a mission similar to his own, and was received by the American Ambassador and fêted by the French authorities! How clear in such cases, would be the wily designs of an unscrupulous Rome! One thing we learn from Dr. Macfarland's trip is that the Protestants are few in number, but they make up in quality what they lack in quantity. They are "always strong and often dominant" in the community, and they are ready to take up "constructive evangelical development." This movement is aided considerably by the development of the French Y. M. C. A., and the work of the two Y's in connection with that of the Red Cross. Both Y's are "sure to become great forces in France." He adds:

God has set before America an open door in France and Belgium. Other agencies, including interests, social, educational and philanthropic are seizing the opportunity for service to these nations, and are already on the field. They are preparing the way for the churches.

The October *Bulletin* thus describes the Second Annual Meeting of the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, in Washington in September:

The meeting was one of considerable significance, bringing together as it did members of the Government departments and representatives of the denominational war-time agencies for conference concerning matters of vital interest to religion at the present time and in the future. At various times during the session, there were present the Secretary of the Navy; Hon. Frederick P. Keppel, Third Assistant Secretary of War; Colonel Brown, representing the Adjutant General and detailed in charge of matters relating to army chaplains.

A letter from the Reformed Evangelical Churches, presented to this meeting says in part:

France still suffers and will suffer from the mortal bleeding it endured by two and a half centuries of persecutions, and especially by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. France has not freed itself from the Roman education which weakens moral energy and personal responsibility. If France has the passion of liberty, she has not yet fully the moral principles which liberty engenders. May God grant that in opposition to the abominable insinuations which recently again, under the pen of a French Academician, pretended to impute to Protestantism the destruction of Louvain, accomplished by Bavarian Roman Catholics, you Americans, as well as the British, may constrain the blindest and the most prejudiced to recognize that Protestantism, the inspirer of justice and source of modern liberties, is playing on the side of the Entente a preponderant part in the world's conflict, of which we are now able to discern the victorious ending.

So too the January *Bulletin*, 1919, tells us much that otherwise we should not know. We are informed, for instance, that the Protestant churches of France and Belgium realize that "The moral strength of America lies in the spirit of freedom fostered by Protestantism!"

Much more could be quoted to prove the underlying motives of the United Protestant movement, but enough has been given to clearly define the issue. The Y. M. C. A. is building for the future, in France, in Belgium, in Russia, in Italy, yes, even in Serbia. It hopes, while the war-chest is open, to lay the foundation-stones of its future campaigns in Europe. Its sister organization,

the Y. W. C. A. makes no secret of its plans in this regard. Its press copy tells the story in a few words: "We have started a tremendous strategic work in France. It is bound to continue. We need to be ready with a relay of trained efficient women for the future as for the past." Again in press copy sent out last December by the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A. relative to the pressing need for women in Russia, we have the statement:

When this work is over [financed by the war-chest!] we will go on with our original Russian program which has to do entirely with Russian women—an educational, social and recreational program. While our women are working with our army there, they must study the language.

The Y. M. C. A. is following along similar lines. The "big men" whom it has "drafted" for its "special mission," are flanked by ministers of lesser light, the latter being permanently stationed in certain centers, while the big men go out after the big game.

French Protestant chaplains are being imported by the Federal Council of the Churches, Chaplain Daniel Couve, now in this country, is conferring with the various Mission Boards on matters of mutual interest. The chaplain is also addressing meetings both of the clergy and of laymen throughout the country. The list of questions put to the chaplain, and to other French chaplains, by the Federal Council, clearly indicate the nature of the work they have in mind. Here are a few of the questions, and answers:

"We have been assured that there would be no opposition on the part of the French Government to active work in the interests of Protestantism in France. From your personal observation and your knowledge of the French Government, is this true?" "No opposition," in the opinion of Chaplain Couve.

"Will the French people themselves welcome Christianity if presented as an evangelical message free from denominational emphasis?" "Yes," answers Pastor Chastand. "This is a time when the French people are ready for a religious message. A great part of the French people are uninfluenced at present by the Catholic Church,—but it cannot be a distinctly denominational message."

"Has there been any serious discrimination on the part of the American Red Cross authorities against Protestant hospitals in France? Against Protestant work in France, generally?" "Dr. Hamilton feels that while the Red Cross helped her own hospital at Bordeaux very greatly, nevertheless on the whole its authorities were very much more favorable to Catholic institutions throughout France than to Protestant. This is very natural, since France is predominantly a Catholic country." Which answer probably explains why Dr. Hamilton came to America to collect \$300,000 for her hospital.

"Have the French Free-thinkers any realization of the fact that the Protestant churches are essentially more democratic than the Catholic?" "The French Free-thinkers realize the democratic form of the Protestant churches, but under the influence of their Catholic upbringing and training, they feared that no positive religion could in reality be democratic in spirit. Furthermore the Protestant churches did not want to become only a philosophical society to please the French Free-thinkers." Chaplain Couve also gives it, as his opinion, that "In order to aid in a great forward movement for evangelizing those in France who are not yet Protestant, American money will be welcomed. The great forward movement for spreading Protestantism in



France where the soil is ripe and where it is so vitally needed, should receive the hearty support of the American church. Without this support, it could not be successful."

"What is the strength of the movement among French and Belgian Roman Catholics to set up a National French R. C. Church, free from Papal authority, on account of the Pope's attitude in the war?"

I trust the Federal Council scribe will forgive me for correcting his copy, by using a capital "P" in the words "Papal" and "Pope." He must have wilted at Chaplain Couve's terse reply, that he knew nothing of the movement, did not believe such a movement would have any real strength, and further, Chaplain Couve believes that the "Roman Catholics are still loyal to the Pope." But the chaplain "distinctly feels" that in France a need is realized for the democratic spirit of Evangelical Christianity as distinct from the spirit of authority of the Roman Church and the same intolerant spirit prevalent among Socialists and Free-thinkers who have broken away from Catholicism. He says:

For centuries, the autocratic nature of the Roman Catholic Church has taught the French people to connect religion with autocracy. At the commencement of the war, the French nation still instinctively associated all religion with autocratic ways of thinking. But since the war brought France and America into closer relations through the great work of the Red Cross, of the Y. M. C. A. and of the Y. W. C. A. the French people are beginning to appreciate that there must be behind these benevolent agencies a great religious impulse which is associated with democratic principles. This feeling has paved the way among the people for a welcome to Evangelical Christianity and the readiness to believe that it will fill the need for a democratic religion.

"Would the fact that the American Protestant churches advocate a healthy patriotism have any propaganda value in France in obtaining support for a movement to help the Protestant churches?" was the next question asked, but Chaplain Couve unfeelingly throws cold water on the suggestion by saying, "Not important at all." Chaplain Couve is asked and answers a lot of other equally foolish questions. As he figures that there are about 600,000 Protestants in France today, a few more than 800 churches, and that about one hundred pastors have posts in the bombarded districts, a little computing will give the reader the net-cost of each French convert according to the scheme planned by the Federal Council of the Churches and her various allies and cooperating agencies, about which more will be revealed in another article.

## Congress and the League of Nations

JOHN MCGUINNESS

NEVER perhaps in the history of the Senate has a question been presented which called for greater deliberation than does the League of Nations. It marks one of the most vital steps in the life of this nation, since it affects our sovereignty and changes our traditional foreign policy. In the discussions which have taken place, the constitutional aspect of the question seems to have been entirely lost sight of. Many phases of the League

conflict with the Federal Constitution, and this conflict makes its end ineffective.

A nation is said to be sovereign when the power by which it is governed resides within itself. The sovereignty of this nation rests entirely with the people. Congress is not the originator of its powers, but derives these powers from the people. The people, through the States, delegated to Congress certain powers clearly defined in the Constitution. All other powers not delegated therein are by the Tenth Amendment reserved to the States or to the people. Congress cannot enlarge or diminish its powers, nor can Congress constitutionally transfer any of its powers to another body. Our Government differs essentially from others. In England the acts of Parliament are supreme. The acts of Congress are supreme only when they conform with the Constitution. The scope within which Congress can act is limited. If it goes beyond its limit, the Supreme Court is vested with power to nullify the act. But what are its powers with regard to treaties?

Generally speaking, a treaty is not a law. It is considered a contract between sovereign nations. In America a treaty may be both a law and a contract. Chief Justice Marshall said:

A treaty is, in its nature, a contract between two nations, not a legislative act. . . . Our Constitution declares a treaty to be the law of the land. It is, consequently, to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an act of the legislature whenever it operates of itself, without the aid of any legislative provision. But when the terms of the stipulation import a contract, when either of the parties engages to perform a particular act, the treaty addresses itself to the political, not the judicial, department, and the legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court.

When a treaty operates without the aid of legislation it is a law, and takes the same status as an act of Congress. It can be altered or repealed at any time, and, like any act of Congress, if it does not conform to the Constitution, the Supreme Court can declare it null and void. The courts have continually held that treaties are neither irrevocable, unchangeable nor superior to the provisions of the Constitution. (*Doe v. Braden* 16 How, pp. 635-7; *Cherokee Tobacco*, 11th Wallace, p. 616; *Geofroy v. Riggs*, 133 U. S., 258.)

When a treaty rests on the promise of the United States to do something, it is a contract only, to be fulfilled by the political departments of the Government, and it is not subject to judicial review. This is what the Court said in *Foster v. Neilson* (2 Pet., 253) and *Whitney v. Robertson* (124 U. S., 190). Even though a treaty operates as a contract, it cannot alter the Constitution. A treaty cannot compel the United States or any department of the Government to do what the Constitution forbids. (*Tucker on the Constitution*, Vol. 2, p. 725; *Alexander Hamilton, Works IV*, p. 342.)

The powers of Congress are set forth in Article I of the Constitution. Section 8, which among other things, says:

The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations; to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the government and regulations of the land and naval forces; to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

The treaty-making power of the Senate is unlimited. It may deal with any situation or question provided it does not interfere with the Constitution, or deprive any department of the Government or any of the States of their constitutional authority. The Senate cannot constitutionally ratify a treaty which would vest a League of Nations with the power to regulate our commerce, decide the size of our army and navy, and say whether or not we shall declare war, or which would deprive the United States of the right to remain neutral in wars between other nations, because this would be equivalent to denying us the right to declare war. "A treaty cannot be made which alters the Constitution or which infringes any express exception to the power of the Constitution of the United States" (Hamilton, Works IV, p. 342). Nor can a treaty be made which vests the League of Nations with the power to determine the size of the army and navy the United States shall furnish upon the outbreak of foreign wars, or to say when and where and how much of our army and navy shall be used to protect the covenant of the League. All these powers belong to Congress, and Congress cannot transfer them to another body. "The powers of government are delegated in trust to the United States and are incapable of transfer to any other parties." (Ping v. U. S., 130 U. S., p. 581.)

A treaty which would transfer to another body any of the powers conferred upon Congress by the Constitution, would by so doing, change our system of government, and destroy what was designed to fulfil the will of the people. Such a treaty would be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court in the Cherokee Tobacco Case, 11th Wallace (p. 616) said: "It need hardly be said that a treaty cannot change the Constitution or be valid if it be in violation of that instrument." In *Downes v. Bidwell* (182 U. S., 370) the Court said: "Indeed a treaty which undertook to take away what the Constitution secured, or to enlarge the Federal jurisdiction would be simply void." Nor can the United States through a treaty become a party to a League of Nations whereby the judicial power of the United States Supreme Court to interpret treaties shall be transferred to a foreign tribunal.

If the Senate should ratify a treaty which would in any way enlarge, diminish, modify, or ignore the provisions of the Constitution, any subsequent Congress can by a majority vote set such treaty aside; or the Supreme Court, if it should be brought before that tribunal for judicial review, can and would declare such treaty null and void. It should be remembered too, that if the Senate should go beyond the limits of the Constitution in ratify-

ing a treaty, the House of Representatives would not be bound to fulfil the obligations of such treaty.

In making treaties, especially where an appropriation of money is required for the fulfilment of its obligations, the Senate has at times stipulated that until the treaty was first approved by an act of Congress it should not become effective. But it must not be inferred, that this action would remove the question of constitutionality. (Devlin, On Treaty Powers, Secs. 83, 88, etc.)

As the League of Nations was drafted by British jurists, it is not surprising that it conflicts with our Constitution. Unlike the English Government, ours cannot claim or exercise powers which are not delegated to it by the Constitution, hence, the futility of becoming a signatory to a covenant which cannot be made binding upon the nation. In view of the action taken by the Senate on the first and second set of conventions for the pacific settlement of international disputes, the Algeciras Conference of 1906, the Arbitration Treaty with France and England in 1911, and on other occasions, it is highly improbable that the Senate will now ratify a treaty requiring America to depart from its traditional foreign policy which forbids interfering in European entanglements, or in which the constitutional powers of Congress are taken away *pro tanto* and transferred to a foreign body.

## Cinema-Censorship in Ohio

EDWARD F. GARESCHÉ, S. J.

SO far in this series of articles on the censorship of motion-pictures we have been endeavoring to make available the information to be found on the records of boards of censorship, so as to rouse the Catholic conscience to the need of wise supervision of the cinema and to show the practicability and proper methods of procedure to that end. Amongst the comments elicited by these articles this one, found in a Catholic paper, is worthy of particular note:

We know a good priest who, for reasons that satisfy his conscience undoubtedly, refuses to absolve his parishioners who attend the movies in his town. The chancellor of an eastern diocese who appeared before a legislative committee to advocate censorship admitted that he never had seen a film, but if he had his way the movies would be entirely abolished. A learned Jesuit, who writes much on various topics, has turned his pen to the discussion and a saintly nun, cloistered, too, if memory does not fail, has been telling the readers of many Catholic weeklies of the dangers in attendance upon picture-shows. We are not over-critical, but does it not lay us open to ridicule when folks who know a blessed nothing of the matter try to commit the Church to an impossible stand? From the returns recently published the movies do not seem to worry.

This writer seems to take it for granted that a person must see a great many movies to be entitled to speak of the need of censorship. But the good confessor knew them by their effect on his parishioners, the chancellor had perhaps read the reports of some boards of censors, and the saintly nun was speaking of their influence on her



pupils. The present writer has seen few pictures, but that scarcely invalidates the expert testimony which he is bringing forth from the records of reputable censors whose business it is to see and evaluate films.

Moreover, to urge Catholics to support judicious censorship is not at all to commit the Church to an impossible stand but rather to claim Catholic interest for a practical and well-tested remedy for glaring abuses. Reputable producers will welcome a sane and fair control to deliver their trade from the unscrupulous people who injure it in public esteem, and disreputable producers are complaining loudly of their losses. As for the Boards of Censors themselves they are increasingly sanguine of the good results of their work. All this is clear from the following communication from the Chairman of the Ohio State Board of Moving Pictures:

As I wrote you in answer to your letter . . . . I returned to the censor offices after my vacation. I shall endeavor to give you information concerning censorship of moving pictures in Ohio. Ohio was the first State to have a board of censors, and of course we had to work out the problem without any precedent. I was the first person appointed by the Governor to that Board, and have served continuously since then under three Governors.

There is an organization in New York called the National Board of Review, which bore the imposing title of the "National Board of Censors" when the Ohio law was first enacted. The title of this National Board of Review of New York is misleading, and gives the impression that it is a Federal board. But that Board is not legalized, is not appointed, and not elected; it has no legal authority to pass on films, and cannot keep out of service any objectionable films even though it might desire to do so. During the administration of Mr. McClellan as Mayor of New York City, he ordered every motion-picture house closed because of the indecency and crime depicted in the films. A group of manufacturers of motion-pictures in New York appealed to Mayor McClellan to be permitted to open the theaters again, offering to censor the films themselves. Finally the Mayor consented and that was the origin of the National Board of Censors, now called the National Board of Review. You can well see that a board which is named and supported by a group of manufacturers of motion-pictures is not expected to reject any of the films.

After we had worked under the Ohio censorship law for more than a year, the National Board of Review of New York sent two men into Ohio, and for almost a year they canvassed this State, going into every city, town and village to arouse opposition to State censorship. They claimed to have unlimited funds to secure the repeal of the Ohio law, and they issued, it is claimed, two thousand dollar's worth of literature every week in an effort to prejudice the people against State censorship. They visited the members of the Legislature in their home towns and urged them to vote for the repeal of State censorship. Nothing seemed to have been left undone to arouse public opposition.

Realizing the danger in which our law was placed, I went through the State making speeches and writing numerous newspaper and magazine articles explaining the Ohio censorship law, and how through it our Board of Censors had been enabled to suppress vile pictures. I enlisted the interest and sympathy of the club women of the State and in fact all women who wanted clean motion-pictures. At many public meetings where two representatives from the National Board of Review of New York spoke against State censorship, I spoke in its favor, and in every instance had the satisfaction of winning the audiences to the support of censorship. So thoroughly did

I do this work that when at last it came to a vote of the legislature only three votes were cast against the law. That was, of course, a splendid triumph.

I am happy to say that the motion-picture men of Ohio are, almost without exception, in favor of State censorship. By our fairness and justice to them, we have won their respect and confidence, and they know if we reject a film there is good cause for it. At the time that the National Board of Review of New York was trying to have our censorship law repealed, the motion-picture men of this State stood firmly for censorship, and for the retention of our Board. I do not believe it would now be possible to repeal the law in this State, because we not only have the backing of the men in general, but the motion-picture men themselves.

The film-men fear municipal censorship more than anything else, and since all of the larger cities have that ordinance they prefer a State board of broad-minded men and women. Even at the low price of one dollar for each reel of a thousand feet which our law provides must be charged for censorship, we bring into the State a revenue of between \$35,000 and \$40,000 a year. The expenses of our offices amount to about \$20,000 a year. Our office force consists of three censors, chief clerk, bookkeeper, three stenographers, one of whom takes care of our filing cabinet, a custodian of films, two and sometimes three motion-picture machine operators. There is considerable clerical work connected with the office because we must keep an accurate record of every film which comes into this office.

When the censorship law of Ohio was first enacted we knew so little of what was to be expected of the Board that we had no way of gauging the salary commensurate with the work. Some of the motion-picture men of Ohio who were anxious for State censorship, suggested \$1,500 per annum as a salary for each of the three censors, so this sum was named in our law. Since that time everybody has realized the injustice of such a small salary for the enormous amount of work which we must do. We handle ten million dollars' worth of property each year, and it is not a fair remuneration for a board which bears such responsibility. Pennsylvania passed a censorship law after Ohio had done so, but within six months almost doubled the salary for its censors. Kansas followed and also increased the salary of her censors. Maryland took a similar position in the matter, and when Illinois and New York legislators passed censorship bills for those States they carried a salary of \$5,000 a year for each censor. The Governor of New York vetoed the censorship bill because he believed it unjust to the industry because of the excessive fee of \$10.00 for censoring each reel which the bill called for. For another reason the Governor of Illinois vetoed that bill, but both States are now working again for a censorship law. Two winters ago thirty States in our Union were considering bills for State censorship, but as they were not familiar with the methods by which the National Board of Review of New York opposed State censorship, they did not succeed in carrying the bills through.

For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1918, the work of the Ohio Board of Censors covered the following: 26,905 reels of films censored, divided as follows: 22,472 reels approved without eliminations; 4,295 reels approved with eliminations; 138 reels rejected.

When our Board rejects a picture the people who submit the film have the privilege of taking the list of our objections which are made when we censor it, eliminating these from the picture and returning it to this office for further consideration by the Board. If in our judgment the picture is then clean enough to be shown in Ohio, it is passed, and the submitter of the film must leave out of the picture the eliminated portions, so long as it is shown in Ohio. If on second review with the objectionable features eliminated, we find the picture still unfit for exhibition in this State, it is again rejected.

The first duty of the Ohio Board of Censors is to the State for the protection of young people to whom suggestive pictures would be harmful. But we also consider the valuable property of the film-men and we try in every way to help them clean up their pictures, so they can be passed by this Board. We have helped them reconstruct their pictures, have suggested new titles where the original ones were objectionable to this Board, have suggested new sub-titles to replace others which we considered harmful, and in every possible way we have helped them save their pictures from rejection. For these reasons we have the hearty cooperation of the better class of film-men in Ohio, and we have their good-will because they are assured of our fairness and justness to them. I shall be most happy to give you any further information on this subject.

Very cordially yours,

(Mrs.) MAUDE MURRAY MILLER,  
Chairman of Ohio Board of Censors.

The above letter, among other details, emphasizes quite properly the willingness and even the desire of the most reputable manufacturers of films to have some sort of censorship. These gentlemen realize that censorship properly conducted and managed in a way that would give them only the minimum of trouble and expense necessary to eliminate objectionable films would be a real and great benefit to their business. If this form of amusement is allowed to grow disreputable, it will be an immense loss from a business standpoint to the manufacturers and exhibitors themselves.

#### COMMUNICATIONS

(Letters as a rule should not exceed six hundred words.)

##### Are the English Germans?

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Are Americans Indians? Is Doctor O'Malley a pure Celt? Fourteen centuries ago, the heathen, barbarian, pagan Teutons invaded England, destroyed or enslaved the natives. "The English ever since this occupation have much more Teutonic blood than Bavarians," says Dr. O'Malley in AMERICA for April 26. In 1400 years they have never permitted any racial admixture. In forty-seven generations they, like the Chinese, have never changed. True, London has more Irish than Dublin, more Scotch than Edinburgh, more Jews than Palestine; yet, "most of the common people have always been Germans!" O'Malley (M. P. for Galway), Beatty and Northcliffe (Irish), Lloyd George and Father Vaughn (Welsh), Isaacs (a Jew), Cardinal Bourne, Kitchener, French (N-F), Balfour and Haig (Scotch); these "rulers of England have always been Germans!"

Luckily, in 1400 years the English language has escaped "from the involved word-sequences of the German," and just a little from *schrecklichkeit*. True, most of the erudite Doctor's excellent journalese, like the major portion of our modern verbal vaporings, evidently evolved, somehow, from the Latin. Yet, English is "a modernization of Low-Dutch!"

Were the English Germans, once upon a time? Ah, that would be another story. The point was that they "are," now, today, still German, still heathen, still pagan, still barbarian, still Teutonic, "more Teutonic than Bavarians."

Philadelphia.

GEORGE RUSSELL DILKES, JR.

To the Editor of AMERICA:

An anonymous objector to the non-essential, in AMERICA for May 17, dissented from some unimportant remarks I made about the Germans and English in an article in AMERICA, on April 27. It does seem uncharitable in me to say that the English are Germans, but I was presenting an historical fact, which the "Anglo-Saxons" themselves admit because they cannot help themselves.

The old Spanish moral theologians used to make it a mortal sin falsely to accuse a man in Spain of being a Moor, so we should be certain of our calumnies. This critic asks, "Since when have the Celts the monopoly of art?" Since some time before the days of Homer. Every saga in the Iliad is Celtic. The very name of Achilles is Celtic in origin—*Aicillidhe*, able, dextrous. Greek art came into existence before the Celts in Greece had been destroyed by the climate. If it were indigenous it would have been revived at times, but the aboriginal Greek never invented any thing better than methods for polishing boots. All Italian art was produced above Florence in the Cisalpine Celtic region. The Latin language is almost as much a more modern dialect of the old Cisalpine Oscan and Umbrian Celtic as English is a modern form of the old Low Dutch. Vergil, the leading Latin poet, was a Cisalpine Celt most probably. His name is pure Celtic, *Farghil*, and the Gathering of the Clans in the fifth book of the Aeneid sounds as if it had been written in Connacht. The remainder of the art of Europe is Celtic French, with a few Spanish side-decorations.

The anonymous critic also suggests that I "set aside at least one hour every day in order to get acquainted with the English classics." Perhaps that is not necessary. When Professor Charles Warren Stoddard and the Hon. Maurice Francis Egan, late United States Minister to Denmark, were called to the Catholic University from the University of Notre Dame, which is above the German belt in my critic's own State, I was asked by the University to succeed these gentlemen, and during the seven years I held the professorship there I did nothing but teach and study English literature, as I had done at intervals for decades before that time. I trust I shall not be held in purgatory for that waste of years.

Philadelphia.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY.

##### Catholics and Art

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I have just finished reading an excellent article in your issue of May 7, under the title of "Catholics and Art," by E. F. Carrigan S. J. It is not only good reading, but it contains a suggestion that should not be allowed to pass unheeded, but should be embraced by every Catholic educator. How sad it is that we Catholics are so ignorant of our own wealth! Why is it that we so systematically avoid any discussion of works of art, any explanation of the many beautiful prints and copies of the Masters which so frequently adorn our churches and schools? Perhaps it is because the teachers themselves have never been instructed concerning such matters and it has never occurred to them to acquaint themselves with the necessary details. It is not to be expected that all our Catholic educators should possess the appreciation of an artist, but it is not too much to expect that they should encourage and foster in their pupils a love and a knowledge of Catholic art, whenever the occasion offers. All Catholic educators know that the beauty which gives the highest satisfaction to man is spiritual beauty, expressed by means of appropriate sensible symbols, and there are no more appropriate sensible symbols than those found in Catholic art. St. Louis.

G. PATRICK NEAFCY.

##### Latin at Yale

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The editorial, "Taking It Easy at Yale," in your issue of April 5 is apparently based on a misconception of the facts. Yale University has for many years given an undergraduate degree, without Latin, to those taking what is known as the Select Course in the Sheffield Scientific School. In the reorganization of the University, following the war, it was recognized that the undergraduate degree given by the Sheffield Scientific School should be for work in science and engineering, and should be the degree of Bachelor of Science. The Ph. B. degree, given for work in the Select Course in the Scien-



tific School, has now been transferred to the College, and the Select Course, itself, has been removed from the Scientific School, where it really had no business to be. Formerly the undergraduate entered "Sheff" in the Select Course and in three years obtained the degree of Ph. B. without Latin, or he could take four years in Yale College, with the Latin requirement, and obtain the degree of B. A.

In future, he can take four years in Yale College, with the Latin requirement, and obtain a B. A. degree, or four years in the College, without Latin, and obtain the Ph. B. degree, or four years in the Scientific School and obtain the B. S. degree. Hereafter, Yale is to give no undergraduate school degree for three years' work, so that the criticism in your editorial, that Yale will not do its full duty to fit men to fight in this hard and chilly world of ours, is without foundation in fact. Yale intends that its graduates shall be better fitted than ever before for the duties of the world. Without foundation, too, is your criticism that Latin was dropped because it was found too hard. Latin was not dropped. It is still required for those who aspire to the B. A. degree, and a full four years' course in Latin is offered in the College. It is not to be required, as it has not been for many years, for an aspirant to the degree of Ph. B. The strict mathematical and scientific requirements substituted for Latin many years ago for those entering the Scientific School are still in effect. What Yale has done is to reorganize her undergraduate departments so as to broaden the scope of her teaching, and to increase the time and work necessary for a degree; she is in no way "letting down the bars." The call of the times is for college courses largely prescribed, educationally broad and useful to their ends, and leading at their conclusion to a more specific study of the world of affairs. The new courses at Yale meet these requirements.

New York.

W. V. GRIFFIN.

[As was stated in AMERICA at the time, the comment in question was based upon a report made by the usually well-informed editor of the Boston Transcript's educational page.—Ed., AMERICA.]

#### St. Sophia and the Greek Orthodox Church

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Dr. O'Malley, in his letter with reference to the true ownership of the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Constantinople, in AMERICA of May 10, omits what is perhaps the strongest part of the Catholic case. It is not strictly true that "the schismatics" used that church from 1054 to 1453. From 1204 to 1261 it was the seat of the Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople. From 1274 to 1283 it was the seat of the Greek Patriarch, John Beccus, a devoted Catholic in fullest fellowship with the Holy Roman Church. From 1439 onwards it was at least nominally and technically in Catholic hands, as a formal reunion with Rome had taken place in that year; and from the time of the official visit of Cardinal Isidore in 1452 it was unquestionably and fully Catholic, and so continued until after the Turkish conquest, when the Ottoman Sultan, Mahommed II, revived the schism and appointed Genadius Scholarius as Anti-patriarch. The last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Dragases, who fell in the defense of his capital against the Turks, was as much a Catholic as any of us.

If the Turks are to restore the edifice to those from whom they took it then it should unquestionably go to the Greek Church in the true Catholic sense of the term, namely, to the United or Uniate Greeks, whom Rome designates as Catholics of the Greek Rite, an appellation for which Dr. Fortescue and his followers are trying to substitute the newly-invented and rather unfortunate designation "Byzantine Rite," or to speak still more particularly, to those of the Pure Greek sub-rite. To "return" it to the Photianist sect of Constantinople, who have usurped the title of the "Orthodox Church" of that city, would not be making restitution at all, since that sect is practically their own

creation, for they have resuscitated it for their own purposes after it had for several years been extinct.

The real Greek Orthodox Church came into existence long before even the original schism of Photius, for it is really that part of the Catholic Church which used and uses the Greek Rite. In the days of the great heresies it was under the name Orthodox that Catholics were commonly distinguished from heretics. Even in the Latin Rite at the present day the word Orthodox is officially used interchangeably with Catholic, for example in the Canon of the Roman Mass prayers are offered "*et omnibus orthodoxis atque Catholicæ et Apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.*" The Eastern sects which call themselves Orthodox do so with precisely the intention of claiming to be Catholic; while the Uniate Churches of the Greek Rite glory in being the Greek Orthodox Churches. True today the only religious body officially calling itself or called by the other so-called "Orthodox" schismatics, "the Greek Orthodox Church" is the Photianist State sect of Greece. The sixteen or so Eastern sects calling themselves "Orthodox" do not constitute a Church in any possible sense of that word, however perverted, as they are divided into two bitterly hostile fellowships. All of them are *de facto* heretical, and it is more than doubtful whether there is at present any such thing as a really Orthodox sect. The only truly Orthodox, and the only truly Evangelical, bodies are those in fellowship with the Holy Apostolic See.

Certainly outside of the Roman fellowship there are no churches of any kind, but only sects. The only real churches are the organized portions of the One True Church, just as the only real religions are the Religious Orders and types of religious life in the One True Religion.

Riverside, Cal.

MERWIN PORTER SNELL.

#### A Catholic College for the People

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I have read with interest the paper published in AMERICA of May 10, on "A Catholic College for the People," and I am entirely in sympathy with the proposals contained therein. Does the writer of that paper know that a people's university for Catholics is now in the field? Has he ever heard of "The Catholic Summer School of America?" This institution, chartered under the laws of the University of the State of New York, was founded for the very purpose of continuing the education of those who otherwise could not have the advantages of a Catholic College education; and a glance at its prospectus for the past twenty-seven years will convey to the reader some knowledge of the extensive lines along which the Catholic Summer School works.

Not only does it conduct University Extension Courses during three summer months at Cliff Haven, New York, but it pursues, also, this extension work during the winter months by free lecture courses in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and other cities. The Board of Studies and the Reading Circles Committee of this institution for many years have formulated along Catholic lines courses of studies in philosophy, sociology, ethics, history and literature for reading circles and study clubs, and stand ready to continue this work on a larger scale wherever its finances warrant the extension. Its officials are in touch with the entire educational field of the country and at the present time no Catholic institution is better equipped to undertake the work of providing correspondence courses.

If the K. of C. or some kindred organization is looking about for a chance to do a specially helpful work, I am sure no better opportunity could present itself than to finance this institution. The machinery is ready and in good working order and the Holy See and the Hierarchy of the United States have endorsed its past efforts.

New York.

JOHN J. DONLAN,  
Pres. C. S. S. A.

# A M E R I C A

## A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

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### Prussianism and the Knights of Columbus

RIGHTLY have Americans learned to regard the Knights of Columbus as sturdy defenders of democracy. A powerful factor for good before the war, they emerge from the dark days of conflict with a record of unblemished patriotism, and strength undiminished in the cause of true Americanism. And there is work for them to do. Prussianism, defeated abroad, is active at home, and nowhere more active than among the defenders of that program of autocracy, the Smith bill. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that this measure, fatal to the purposes of democracy, was condemned by the Knights at the State convention held on May 14 at Alton, Illinois, in the following resolutions:

Whereas, a bill commonly known as the Smith bill (S. 5635) was introduced in the Senate of the Sixty-fifth Congress; and

Whereas, the same or a similar bill will in all probability be introduced in the Sixty-sixth Congress; and

Whereas, the said bill is a dangerous and mischievous intrusion into all forms of State and private education, and breathes the Prussian spirit of domination, centralization, and regulation of all institutions of learning; and

Whereas, it proposes a measure which is contrary to the American principle of local control of education, and of State rights; and

Whereas, it would strike a blow at the essentially American practice of encouraging freedom of education by imposing a handicap on all private institutions of learning;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Illinois representatives of the Knights of Columbus in State Convention assembled, earnestly denounce this unwarranted invasion of the rights of State and private education;

And be it further resolved; that we heartily concur in the resolution passed by the Supreme Board of Directors condemning the said Smith bill;

And be it further resolved; that we pledge ourselves corporally and individually to oppose by all legitimate means within our power the passage of any similar bill;

And be it further resolved; that the State Council pledges its

support to the State Deputy in any action he may take regarding any bill of similar import that may be offered in the Congress of the United States, or in any State legislature.

The Illinois Knights have set a splendid example which every Catholic society should imitate at once. If possible, resolutions adopted should be given publicity in the press, and copies should be sent to the local Congressman and to the two Senators representing the State. The promoters of Prussianism are not idle, and hesitation on our part will mean defeat.

### A New Menace to the Family

THE note of warning, sounded by Judge Grant in the June *Scribner's*, concerning the limits of female independence, is well-timed and necessary. The writer's experience in the domestic court and his acquaintance with the causes which ordinarily lead to divorce qualify him to speak authoritatively on the new menace which threatens the stability of the family in the United States and by the same token the best interests of the State. He declares that the change of conditions well under way before the war and incredibly accelerated during the past four years has conferred on woman an economic independence hitherto not dreamed of. With this improved state of affairs he, in company with other sane thinkers, rejoices. Every one must be glad that woman can now look forward with confidence to maintaining herself comfortably by her own unaided efforts.

This economic independence, however, makes women less ready to stand the wear and tear on the affections and sensibilities inevitably connected with married life. Heretofore they were prepared to put up with a great deal, because separation from their husbands carried with it the menace of an unprovided future; and rather than risk the uncertainty of days sinister with the prospect of want, they were willing to bear with present discomfort, and to make the sacrifices and compromises necessary for domestic peace. Now they feel assured that they can earn their own living, and provide not merely for their own requirements but for those of their children as well. And the consequence is that there has been a violent reaction against the old attitude of submission, women are less tolerant of masculine shortcomings, and the principal safeguard of the home, which is the wife's and the mother's determination to keep it intact at no matter what personal cost, is weakening.

Another habit of mind has been fostered by the playwrights and novelists who have pandered to public taste by preaching in season and out of season that the marriage relation is immoral once it is no longer justified by love. This conception is founded on a misapprehension of the primary end of wedlock, as if it had been instituted principally for the satisfaction of the contracting parties. The result is that marriages are made hastily and through caprice, with the understanding that incompatibility of temperament or lapse of affection or preference for some one else shall be a sufficient reason for



severing the relation. The growing demand for more flimsy and slender grounds for the dissolution of the marriage bond; the alarming increase in divorces, which in 1916 reached the high-water mark with one separation for every nine marriages; and the fact that there is a tendency to maintain that any change in the divorce laws should be in the direction of making them more easy to obtain point out very clearly whither we are tending.

Naturally Judge Grant is alarmed, in spite of his sympathy with woman and his conviction that the war has brought with it a reversion to more primitive and saner ideals. Serious thinkers are convinced that the danger to the family is an imminent one. Meanwhile the Catholic Church is untouched by the evil. With her, marriage is indissoluble. Her position, built on the clear dictate of the natural law and the imperative mandate of Revelation, lifts her above the peril. In extreme cases she allows a separation but she gives to her children absolutely no hope of divorce. Once again is she justified before the world.

#### The Tax on Soda Water

**H**OW do you like the tax on soda water, supposing your addiction to the cup that cheers no more than it inebriates? Because of an unwelcome tax, our hardy ancestors deposited certain consignments of tea beneath the placid waters that lave the frigid shores of decorous Boston. But their descendants cannot follow that example literally. Too many fountains bubble and hiss, and allure swain and sober citizen in Boston and in Tombstone, Arizona. The problem is not simple, except in the mind of the Government, which is mandatory and financial. And that, in the end, will be the mind put on by the thirsty citizen, not because it pleases him, but because he must. The Government has a way of getting what it wants. On his part, the citizen has a way of grumbling, and of submitting without reserve.

But it is not well to make him grumble too much. There is a stage beyond which he will not grumble, but strike and in the message to Congress the President hints at this truth. Americans are willing to support the Government even to the extent of flat pocket-books when, and providing that, the necessity exists. But they are not quite sure that so sore a necessity now exists. They dimly suspect that some truth may be found in the picturesque language of the eminent statesman who said that the last Congress spent money like a crowd of drunken sailors. But the cry is still for money, more money, and the stormy cape to be rounded by the party now in power is, "How are we going to get it?"

One ancient source of sure revenue has been stopped by the Eighteenth Amendment. Whether or not Congress repeals the war-time Prohibition legislation, the income arising from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors will begin to assume the characteristics of a mere pale memory after January, 1920. In an older day, the financial view of the possibilities of national Prohibition was generally repudiated by self-denying

lobbyists as sadly materialistic. Possibly it was, but in sadness it can never vie with a new tax, imposed at the precise time that Johnny needs a pair of new shoes, and you are wondering how you are going to face the landlord. New York has levied a State income tax to meet the deficit caused by Prohibition, and the tax for the first year is slightly in excess of fifty-five million dollars. Next year, it may be, and probably will be, greater. Government is an exceedingly materialistic thing, at least in the sense that you cannot pay for its support by depositing an uplifting thought or a highly moral sentiment in the coffers of the State. Neither is legal tender, not even with Prohibitionists.

If we want Prohibition, let us pay for it, and resign ourselves to the fact that we must pay for it. Prohibition will, of course, close all our jails, almshouses and lunatic asylums, and half of our hospitals, thereby lessening the tax-rate. But as no Prohibitionist announced the date of the closing, it is not safe to count upon that lessening, especially since the State and city authorities of New York now warn us that with the coming of Prohibition we shall need fresh appropriations to take care of the new drug-addicts. Legal Prohibition forced upon a people that greeted with relief President Wilson's recommendation that war-time Prohibition be repealed, is as moral as Pecksniff or the Reverend Mr. Stiggins, and far more costly. Consequently, when you are asked to pay six or eleven cents for your next glass of sirupy disappointment, do not say things about the Kaiser that are not fit to print. That is one item in the high cost of plain living for which he is not to be blamed. Pay your bill like a good American, and thank the Anti-Saloon League for this blessed opportunity of forging a new fetter for the recreant limbs of the demon rum.

#### Flaws in the Cloth

**“WHAT** an advantage and felicity it is for great wits to be always provided with objects of scorn and contempt in order to exercise and improve their talents,” was Dean Swift's sarcastic observation regarding the attacks made on the clergy by the clever unbelievers of his century. Contemporaries of the witty Dean who were fond of descanting on the frailties of the cloth were also caustically reminded by him that they really should be more considerate, for the clergy, after all, are drawn from the laity. In fact, there is no other source of supply available. Considering the clergy's origin, is it surprising then, that even after ordination, some of their former defects and shortcomings still cling to them? The laity's retort to the Dean is not recorded, but perhaps they said: "You must not forget, Dean, that you and your clerical brethren are, so to speak, the Church's face and there a blemish is of course very conspicuous. Besides the laity pay you for being good."

Without question, Catholic laymen are quite right in demanding that those who sit in Moses' chair should

be the very first doers of the Word they preach, for Our Lord Himself, solemnly bade the Apostles and their successors, the Bishops and priests of the Church, be not only the light of the world, but the salt of the earth as well. That is to say, they were to dispel, by the doctrine they taught, the world's spiritual darkness and they were to prove by the lives they lead what a wonderful preservative of virtue the Christian dispensation is. But being "compassed with infirmity," like those to whom he ministers, the priest, of course, is by no means free from weaknesses and imperfections himself. Consequently he "can have compassion on them that are ignorant and that err." Romantic Catholics may sometimes entertain the wish that they might have ethereal angels as confessors, but a single interview with such exceedingly ghostly fathers as those would probably be quite enough. For a heaven-born angel's utter inability to sympathize with flesh-burdened sinners' weaknesses would certainly keep him from becoming a "popular" confessor.

So lofty the dignity and so tremendous the powers of the priest that no one who fully realizes what it means to be ordained would have the courage to receive that Sacrament. But for the sake of the Faithful, God has mercifully held the eyes of those who aspire to the priesthood so they will not fear to be ordained, and as the Sacrament is conferred, the souls of those He calls to minister at His altars are filled with the graces they need to make them holy priests. So whatever human weaknesses or little shortcomings, whether amiable or the reverse, the Catholic priest has, should help to keep him humble and prayerful, and the laity by reverencing the sacerdotal dignity will assist the priest in living up to high ideals and by remembering that, happily, he is of "like passions" with themselves, they will not be scandalized if he does not always say and do the most perfect thing.

#### The West Pointer at His Best

TWO years ago Marshal Joffre inspected the United States Military Academy at West Point and reviewed the cadets. He pronounced the institution the finest of its kind in the world. That compliment from the victor of the first battle of the Marne went straight to the heart of every American. For the famous "soldiers' university" on the Hudson, by its ideals and traditions, and the accomplishments of its sons, has made for itself a position absolutely unique in the educational life of the nation. Established and organized to train the leaders of our army, it has accomplished exactly what it set out to do. Its success has been unqualified. In the Civil War the cadets molded by its stern discipline became the great captains of the Union and the Confederacy. West Pointers like Grant and McClellan, Sherman and Sheridan, Meade and Hooker, Rosecrans, Hancock and Thomas led the men in blue at Antietam and Shiloh, at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, while West

Pointers, like Lee and Jackson, the two Johnstons and the two Hills, Jeb Stuart, Longstreet, Pickett and Beauregard led the men in gray. Few military schools can boast of such a splendid roster. West Point was founded to mold and form the guides and the leaders of the American fighting men. Their victories and gallantry in the Argonne, at St. Mihiel and at the Marne tell us it did not fail.

That success it owes almost entirely to the martially severe, the long and thorough training given to our future officers. The rigid discipline, the four years' course, the highly specialized studies to which the cadets must submit, were not thought excessive or unduly stressed for those who were destined to become the highest representatives of the American people.

Many then will hear without much enthusiasm, with no little misgiving even, the announcement that the plan of the General Staff reducing the course of the Military Academy at West Point from four to three years, has been approved by the Secretary of War. Old army officers are willing to admit that a three years' course at West Point owing to the scholastic seclusion, the long hours of study, the unremittent discipline, the military precision of the whole system, may be equal to four years in a civil institution where the highest standards prevail. They believe, however, that our future officers should have a more finished education to fit them for their work. They are right. West Point is not the place for an abbreviated and skimmed course. Its output so far, in the Mexican, the Civil and the Great War, has been a finished and rounded product. That product must not deteriorate now. Our educational system is too ready to let down bar after bar and make studies easier, and instead of turning out the expert, the thinker, the scholar, the master, the man thoroughly grounded in the highest principles of his art or science, is sending adrift half-educated men, efficient to some extent, in a pinch, but not thoroughly proficient in the deeper secrets of their art. It would be a great loss for the nation, if, while old and famous universities are willing to admit to academic degrees men absolutely innocent of Greek and in some cases even without the barest tincture of Latin, the four years' course at the great school which turned out Lee and Grant and Pershing should now be shortened. We need more officers, it is true, for our forces, and the shortened course would increase the number of West Point graduates. But that abbreviated course would not give us the expert, the West Pointer of the Academy's best days. Time is an essential factor in education. Four years' training to produce the kind of officer needed for the complicated problems which face the modern soldier in a modern war, the war of the specialist, does not seem to be too much. At West Point to keep the standard high, the course must be absolutely thorough and efficient. Only then will the school keep up its record and continue to deserve the singular compliment paid to it by the great soldier to whose aid it sent so many of its sons.



# Literature

## WHITMANIACS AND FOOFOS

“WASHES and razors for foofoos—for me freckles and a bristling beard.” (Walt Whitman) Like good scholastics, let us at the outset define our terms. A Whitmaniac is a person of either sex who approximates perceptibly to the norm of the other, who looks toward Camden, N. J., as the true believer looks toward Mecca, who never tires of quoting W. D. O'Connor's “Good Gray Poet,” who hails Walt Whitman, the centenary of whose birth is observed on the last day of this month, as king, priest and prophet, and who mistakes “Leaves of Grass” for the golden apples of the Hesperides. To the Whitmaniac Whitman is a cult and Whitman's writings are the inspired word.

And the Foofoo? He is an emasculated Puritan, born middle-aged, with the disapproving eye of a dead codfish and the pulsing passion of a chocolate éclair. He can never reconcile himself to literature in its shirtsleeves. He worships poetic form, adores dramatic dogma and devoutly Bowdlerizes Vergil, Shakespeare and the Bible. He solemnly assures you that no writer can possibly be a great writer should he shock anybody—even a Foofoo; and he tearfully ponders the possibility of an erotic undercurrent in Mrs. Hemans and Wordsworth. He fears to be scandalized, and usually is; and—unmindful of the fact that a truly robust man, whether in literature or in life, accepts a measure of buffoonery as a matter of course—naïvely maintains that art is invariably prim and dignified. A Foofoo, in short, is—well, a Foofoo.

Now, while neither the Whitmaniac nor the Foofoo is a wholly satisfactory person to those of us who fancy not only milk and honey but likewise beer and skittles as literary fare, while we are amply justified in invoking a plague on both their houses, while one and the other are very largely blind leaders of the blind, I think there can be no doubt that even a casual dip into the things that Whitman wrote would be sufficient to condemn the cult of Camden and to justify the prudes. In Whitman criticism I can see no middle ground; and I am unequivocally on the side of the Foofoos.

The point at issue, be it thoroughly understood, is not a matter of form. To reproach Whitman with ruggedness, with irregularity, with dissonance, is not necessarily to condemn him to the nether hell, for have we not canonized Browning and Wagner and St. John of the Cross? To write real poetry in *vers libre* or polyphonic prose is difficult, problematical, but not inherently impossible. Miss Amy Lowell has shown us how the thing can be done—in theory; and Mr. Masters has almost succeeded in doing it in practice—once or twice. A song may be a song even though we cannot play it on our particular “baby grand.” So let us be catholic enough to admit that Whitman's “barbaric yawp,” considered simply as verse, may be the music of the spheres—at least to the ear of a barbarian. The Foofoo, of course, would never concede this; which is the main reason why he is a Foofoo.

We begin to look more kindly on the Foofoo, however, when he reproaches Whitman with being vulgar. For—and here is a matter which can be settled only before the tribunal of good-taste and common-sense—Whitman is vulgar. Certain kinds of vulgarity—the term is extremely elastic—those of us who are not Foofoos can tolerate and even mildly approve. Casca in “Julius Caesar” is vulgar, but not offensive; Dante in the “Inferno” is vulgar, but the manner suits the theme. But in Whitman's case the vulgarity is fundamental, repulsive, characteristic; it is of the warp and woof of his thought and his feeling; it is unmistakably the sole *raison d'être* of many of his lines. Let the Whitmaniacs rave as they please about all things being clean to the clean, life has its reticences, and so

has art. If art is anything at all it is the purgation of superfluities, not the exploitation of “odors morbidic” and the “aroma of armpits.” Quite aside from its painfully apparent tangency on the domain of the immoral, the vulgarity of Walt Whitman is in decidedly bad taste.

Yet much of his vulgarity we might overlook—even as his chaotic structure we do overlook—if the man had anything distinctive or original to say. Under favorable conditions we are willing to accept a glowing rose from the hand of a gardener, even though the hand is a dirty hand and the gardener is an atheist who beats his wife. And of this our amiable penchant the Whitmaniacs make much. “Even though you are not educated up to his formal perfection,” they tell us, “even though you still are so shackled of convention that you mistakenly label as vulgarity his unbiased vision and primeval strength, at least hearken to his message. For he sings the song of democracy and the brotherhood of man and he sees even to the core of life. Verily, his words are winged words and his tongue a lambent flame.”

Candidly, we are a little afraid of the poet—any poet—with a loudly heralded “message.” Owing to the presence of some humiliating Freudian complex we find ourselves rather stoutly of the opinion that the function of the poet is not to preach but to sing. But we can never learn very much unless we now and then try to see things with other people's eyes, so we proceed to ruffle our hair, discard our necktie, temporarily abandon the “washes and razors” of the much despised Foofoo and assume the wild and whirling Whitmaniac stare. We search the Camden scriptures for the message, the message of democracy and the message of prophetic vision, and what do we find?

We find that Whitman's ideal of democracy is a sort of Pantheism in which the deity involved is by preference Silenus or the great god Pan. We find that the preacher writes of himself and the world and for himself and the world without a clear conception as to which is which.

“Walt Whitman am I, a Kosmos, of mighty Manhattan the son.” We find that the logical outcome of Whitman's democracy is a dead and dull mediocrity wherein there is no distinction, not only between rich and poor, wise and foolish, but between good and bad, moral and immoral, flesh and spirit. We find that his “institution of the dear love of comrades” is to be established, “Without edifices, or rules, or trustees, or any argument,” and at the same time, at the very apotheosis of the humanitarian spirit, the prophet can sing, “I dote on myself,” and “I find no sweeter fat than sticks to my own bones.”

Aside from its insistent and persistent, its intrinsic and extrinsic vulgarity, is there anything original in all this? Some of us—not necessarily Foofoos—are agreed that history and philosophy and human nature unite to show that the brotherhood of man, without the fatherhood of God, is “billowy drowse” and impracticable nonsense. But has not even purely humanitarian humanitarianism been more sanely and more adequately envisioned? Whitman, forsooth, the poet of democracy! Have the Whitmaniacs never heard of Victor Hugo's prose and Béranger's verse? Have they never encountered the simple, charming lyrics of one Bobbie Burns? “A man's a man for a' that,” is just as good philosophy and infinitely better poetry. And of course it would be too much to expect them to be familiar with the canticles of the Poor Man of Assisi who voiced a democracy that lured Brother Sun and Sister Moon within the circle of its incantation.

And as for Whitman the visionary and the seer, has he anything,—absolutely anything, that has not been better said,

and more poetically said by a round dozen of English poets in works as various as Swinburne's "Songs before Sunrise" and Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound"? Jules Verne foresaw the airship; Tennyson the League of Nations; and the essential thought of Whitman's inflated "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" was not inadequately expressed by Bishop Berkeley—alack and alas, I fear, considerable of a Foofoo—in a not unfamiliar poem beginning, "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

Whitman's "message," then, is at least not an original message; and when he does write poetry it is neither original nor great. His lines, "Old Ireland," for instance, are not lacking in dignity, pathos and vision, but about them there is nothing distinctive. "Ethna Carbery," to name but one instance out of many, has done the same theme and done it very much better; and what shall we say of Whitman's lines when we recall Mangan's "Dark Rosaleen"? Whitman lacks not only originality but freshness; for what more hackneyed than the banal phrase, "wondrous beauty" and the stock figure of Mother Erin crouching, grief-stricken, with her muted harp? "Sometimes With One I Love" represents true poetic material, but as Whitman left it it is rich only in potentiality. Something similar might be said of "Beautiful Women," an idea distilled into authentic poetry by one of our younger poet-priests, Father J. M. Hayes, in "Old Nuns." His war poems are at best minor poetry, very minor; and in the rough, the very rough. There is not in all his "Drum Taps" so virile a piece as Gilbert Frankau's "Gun Teams" or "How Rifleman Brown Came to Valhalla."

Prevailingly, then, Whitman as a poet says nothing either great or original; but he has sheaves of pages where he says nothing at all. Mr. Paul Elmer More is conservative when he writes: "In a larger sense much of his verse is little more than the lusty preaching of what other men have dealt with creatively." Yes; and much of his verse is the result of what Lafcadio Hearn called his "roaring betimes because articulation is impossible." Hence his interminable and nauseating catalogues, his carefully prepared bursts of spontaneity, his idle repetition of such words as *camarados*, *Americanos*, *eidolon*, *libertad*, which seemed to fascinate him as trinkets captivate a savage chieftain.

Whitman described himself as "Stuff'd with the stuff that is coarse, and stuff'd with the stuff that is fine"; and he has some fine lines. (What man, filling 500 closely printed pages, could well escape having some fine lines?) In his verses, as in his conversations recorded by that reincarnation of James Boswell, Horace Traubel, Whitman showed himself the possessor of what, without disparagement, might be called a countrified wit, a yokel penetration; for instance: "The wonder is, always and always, how there can be a mean man or an infidel." But of humor Whitman has not a trace. The fact merits emphasis; for more nearly than anything else, as Stevenson once pointed out, it explains his distorted technique, his crass vulgarity, his protrusive consciousness of his prophetic mission and his long-distance and long-winded didacticism. And in this lack of humor he is utterly un-American.

To both Whitmaniacs and Foofoos I commend the following illuminating anecdote: One day James Russell Lowell and John T. Trowbridge, the novelist, were taking a walk in Cambridge when they observed a sign with the word "groceries" painted in letters of irregular length to produce a bizarre effect. Said Lowell: "That reminds me of Whitman—very common goods inside."

BROTHER LEO.

#### REVIEWS

**Clemenceau—The Man and His Time.** BY H. M. HYNDMAN. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.

The British Socialist leader has written a remarkably interesting biography of Clemenceau. At the same time he has put on the market one of the most plausible appeals for Social-

ism that has appeared in recent days. His praise for the French Premier is unstinted, his criticism of his mistakes kindly, his tribute to the man's consistent devotion to France most generous. Clemenceau's one weakness in all the years he has figured in French politics has been that he has not seen the light of Socialism. This is the reader's necessary conclusion, though Hyndman is altogether too clever to point the conclusion in so plain a manner. And he fails to see the stinging indictment that is brought against his beloved Socialism in his own account of the selfish and unpatriotic record of French Socialists during the war.

As an interesting account of French politics during the last fifty years the book will appeal to many readers. The author's weakness is in his interpretation of men and events as they cross the stage of French political action. Hyndman's bitterness against the Church and his ignorance of Catholic doctrine have carried him into such bigotry of utterance that his worth as a historian is nil. The Catholic Church had to be "weakened or destroyed, if Frenchmen were to be emancipated from superstition and intolerance." This was the attitude of the Premier, and in this attitude his biographer concurs. In fact every evil, in France, it seems, is attributable to the Church. G. C. T.

**En Route.** By J. K. HUYSMANS. Translated from the French with a Prefatory Note by C. KEGAN PAUL. Fourth Edition. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This is the first American edition of a famous book which describes how the author made a retreat in a Trappist monastery and gained there the grace of true contrition for a life of sin. Being a man with a keen sense of the beautiful, he finds in the Catholic liturgy and psalmody, in the Church's mysticism, in the religious life and in ecclesiastical architecture a thousand marvels of unearthly loveliness which he sketches with consummate artistry, while "En Route" for the haven of reconciliation. It was his studies in Christian art that led M. Huysmans back to the Church, "the hospital of souls" as he calls her. He knows by heart the lives and writings of all the mystics, particularly St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, and he often expresses his admiration of the Church's spiritual grandeur, saying, for instance:

The more I think of her, the more I think her prodigious, unique, the more I am convinced that she alone holds the truth, that outside her are only weaknesses of mind, impostures, scandals. The Church is the Divine breeding ground, the heavenly dispensary of souls; she gives them suck, nourishes them, and heals them, she bids them understand, when the hour of sorrow comes, that true life begins, not at birth, but at death. The Church is indefectible, before all things admirable, she is great.

But being a logical Frenchman, the author adds: "Yes, but then we must follow her directions and practise the Sacraments she orders," so he goes off forthwith and makes a retreat. A detailed account of what "Durtel" saw, heard and thought at La Trappe takes up the larger portion of the book.

M. Huysmans' capable translator would have acted more prudently had he omitted the vivid description of the penitent's anguish of soul before, during and after confession, for gross carnal sin had been Durtel's lifelong weakness. Such pages, however, as those the author has written on the *Salva Regina*, the beauty and variety of the liturgical year, and the value of the contemplative life can scarcely be found anywhere else. M. Huysman curiously misunderstands the character and purpose of St. Ignatius's "Book of the Exercises." W. D.

#### BOOKS AND AUTHORS

"The Cause is bigger than its mistakes" is the text of "Victorious" (Bobbs-Merrill), Reginald Wright Kauffman's powerful novel on America's share in the Great War. By carrying over to France, first as a war correspondent, then as a soldier in



the ranks, Andy Brown, an amiable youth of Americus, Penna., and by vividly describing Andy's doings abroad and also what happens meanwhile in the boy's home-town the author succeeds in giving his readers a remarkably faithful series of pictures, and the life-like characters, cleverly introduced one by one in the "overture," act true to type clear to the story's end. If Mr. Kauffman has been nursing a grudge against the censor, this book seems to make them quits, for Garcia is mercilessly pilloried. How graft and stupidity "higher up" lessened our army's fighting value, what needless hardships and sufferings the American soldiers had to endure, what a loathsome thing trench-life was, and how stark is the horror of a hand-to-hand battle today are described by a gifted journalist who seems to have seen or experienced nearly everything he writes about. The "Joan-of-Arc-like" Sylvia, Andy's sweetheart, as do most of the "heroines" of modern novels, shows a scorn of the conventions in her eagerness to help her lover.—Mr. Stephen McKenna's "Midas and Son" (Doran), is a clever novel from the pen of the author of "Sonia," dealing with the rather neurotic pessimism of a young man who inherits enormous wealth and does not know what to do either with it or himself. It is a gloomy book from beginning to end, starting with a quarrel and finishing with a suicide. There is a part of it, rather luridly describing his entanglement with a designing woman, not written for its own sake but to complete the story of the process of disillusionment. If there is any message in the book it is the futility of wealth as a source of happiness. The writer has undoubted power, but is unhappy in the choice of his subject, and luxuriates in depicting the altogether unwarrantable moodiness of a self-centered, spoiled darling of fortune. The note throughout is one of intensifying depression.

The following stanzas entitled "Epiphany" make one of the finest poems in Henry Head's recent volume of lyrics, "Destroyers and Other Verses" (Oxford University Press):

No starry candles lit this festal time,  
And round our Twelfth Night table there was none  
Who did not mourn a husband, brother, son  
Gone in his prime;  
Not with the customary pomp of death,  
With sick-bed ritual and with flickering breath,  
But like the blossom of tempestuous May,  
In one night swept away;  
And of its radiance no memorial seen  
Beyond the empty place where it had been.

So we stand sorrow-laden at the feast,  
Where wisdom knelt in homage to a Child,  
And three world-weary pilgrims from the East  
Laid at His feet  
Gold, and a healing balm, and odors sweet.  
We too must bring our offering, pay the price  
To gain the goal of sacramental peace  
Where doubts dissolve, insurgent longings cease  
And sorrow is sublimed in sacrifice.

"Mont St. Michel and Chartres" (Houghton Mifflin), by Henry Adams, of which a new edition has recently left the press, is a description and interpretation of two architectural monuments of the Middle Ages, the Fortress-Abbey of Mont St. Michel and the Cathedral of Chartres. Thus it is primarily a book for architects. But there is more in the book than mere description, however detailed, of the externals of the Abbey and the Cathedral. The whole complex spiritual world that is built into the stones, the "Substance of Gothic" as Ralph Adams Cram would say, is reconstructed before our eyes in Mont St. Michel. And so several chapters are devoted to such unarchitectural subjects as "La Chanson de Roland," "The Court of the Queen of Heaven," "Nicolette and Marion," Abelard, the Mystics and St. Thomas Aquinas. "Mont St. Michel and Chartres" is a wonderful compendium of Medievalism. The same delightful style and naive assumption of ignorance that

charms the reader of "The Education of Henry Adams" pervades this contribution of his to the history of the Middle Ages. Few readers will be inclined to deny what Ralph Adams Cram says in his preface to Mont St. Michel and Chartres: "It is one of the most distinguished contributions to literature and one of the most valuable adjuncts to the study of Medievalism America has thus far produced."

# BOOKS RECEIVED

- Aquinas Academy, Tacoma, Wash.:  
Doctrinal Discourses for the Sundays and the Chief Festivals of the Year. In Five Volumes. By Rev. A. M. Skelly, O. P. Second Volume. From the First Sunday in Lent to the Second Sunday after Easter, Inclusive. \$1.50.
- G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York:  
A Dictionary of 6,000 Phrases Compiled and Arranged by Edwin Hamlin Carr. \$1.75; The Lady. Studies of Certain Significant Phases of Her History. By Emily James Putnam. Illustrated. \$1.75.
- D. Appleton & Co., New York:  
Belgium, a Personal Narrative. By Brand Whitlock. In Two Volumes. \$7.50; The Story of General Pershing. By Everett T. Tomlinson. Illustrated. \$1.50.
- Boni & Liveright, New York:  
The Swallow. By Ruth Dunbar. \$1.50; Jimmie Higgins, a Story. By Upton Sinclair. \$1.60.
- Benziger Brothers, New York:  
The Most Beloved Woman. The Prerogatives and Glories of the Most Blessed Mother of God. By Rev. Edward F. Garesché, S. J. \$0.99; Whose Name Is Legion. By Isabel C. Clark. \$1.35; Sermons on Our Blessed Lady, "House of Gold." By Rev. Thomas Flynn, C. C. \$2.00.
- Bloud & Gay, Paris:  
Discours de Réception de Monseigneur Baudrillart. Séance de l'Académie Française. 1 fr.
- The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis:  
Victorious, a Novel. By Reginald Wright Kauffman. \$1.75.
- The Catholic Truth Society, London and Brooklyn:  
The Miraculous Birth of Our Lord. By Herbert E. Hall, M. A. Third Edition. 3d; The Conversion of St. Augustine; The Resurrection. By Fr. Bede Jarrett, O. P.; Devotion to Mary; Liberal Christianity and Its Alternative; Why Catholics Go to Confession. 1d. each.
- De La Salle College, Aurora, Ont.:  
A Christian Educator. Sketch of the Life and Work of Rev. Brother S. Lawrence, of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. \$0.10.
- The Devin-Adair Co., New York:  
Christian Ethics, a Text-Book of Right Living. By J. Elliot Ross, C.S.P., Ph.D. \$2.00; The Ethics of Medical Homicide and Mutilation. By Austin O'Malley, M.D., Ph.D., LL.D. \$4.00.
- George H. Doran Co., New York:  
A History of the United States. By Cecil Chesterton. With an Introduction by Gilbert K. Chesterton. \$2.50; Second Marriage. By Viola Meynell. \$1.50.
- The Four Seas Co., Boston:  
The Marsh Maiden and Other Plays. By Felix Gould; The Mountain Singer. By Seosamh MacCathmhaoil. \$1.50.
- M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin:  
Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae in Usum Adolescentium. A. J. S. Hickey, O. Cist. Concinnata. Volumen III. Theodica et Ethica. Editio Quarta, Recognita et Adaucta. 6s.
- Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston:  
The Last Million: How They Invaded France—and England. By Jan Hay. \$1.50; Night Bombing with the Bedouins. By One of the Squadron, Robert H. Reece, Lieut. D.F.C., R.A.F. With Illustrations. \$1.00; Social Work, Essays on the Meeting-Ground of Doctor and Social Worker. By Richard C. Cabot, M.D. \$1.50; The Student's Book of Inspirations. Selected and Arranged with an Introduction. By Edward Dickinson. \$1.00.
- P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York:  
Mysticism True and False. By Dom S. Louismet, O.S.B. \$1.80; The Words of Life, a Handbook of Explanations for Those Seeking Knowledge of the Catholic Faith. Compiled by C. C. Martindale, S.J. \$0.60; Rhymes with Reasons. By the Author of "Aunt Sarah and the War." \$0.35; The Missal for Sunday Use. \$2.00.
- John Lane Co., New York:  
The Pursuit of Happiness and Other Poems. By Benjamin R. C. Low. \$1.50.
- La Vie Nouvelle, Montreal:  
Les Syndicats Catholiques. Une Digue Contra le Bolchévisme. Par Joseph-Papin Archambault, S.J. \$0.35.
- Longmans, Green & Co., New York:  
The I. W. W., a Study of American Syndicalism. By Paul Frederick Brissenden, Ph.D. \$4.00.
- Mission Press, S.V.D., Techny, Ill.:  
Glories of the Holy Ghost, a Series of Studies, a Collection of Tributes, an Account of Certain Movements Bearing on the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. With 100 Illustrations. By Rev. Wm. F. Stadelman, C.S.Sp. \$3.00.
- Don MacKinnon, Sydney, N. S.:  
Stray Leaves from Highland History. Gleaned by Major R. Gillis.
- The Macmillan Co., New York:  
The Blind, Their Condition and the Work Being Done for Them in the United States. By Harry Best, Ph.D. \$4.00.
- Charles Scribner's Sons, New York:  
A Pilgrim in Palestine, Being an Account of Journeys on Foot by the First American Pilgrim After General Allenby's Recovery of the Holy Land. By John Finley. Illustrated. \$2.00; Alice-Sit-By-the-Fire. By J. M. Barrie. \$1.00; Service and Sacrifice. Poems. By Corinne Roosevelt Robinson. \$1.25.
- The Talbot Press, Limited, Dublin:  
The Glamour of Dublin. By D. L. "Kay."
- University of California Press, Berkeley:  
The North West Company. By Gordon Charles Davidson, Ph.D.; Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest. By Charles E. Chapman, Ph.D.
- Yale University Press, New Haven:  
Chimney-Pot Papers. By Charles S. Brooks. Illustrated by Woodcuts by Fritz Endell. \$2.00.

## SOCIOLOGY

## The Revaluation of the Middle Ages

**A**MONG the hopeful signs of our time is the changed attitude regarding the Middle Ages. This was brought about by three causes. First came the failure of the capitalistic system. Concentrating the ownership of the means of production in the hands of the few it deprived the millions of any voice, or share in the regulation of what most vitally concerned them. Against the arbitrary use of this tremendous power the minds of men naturally revolted and they reverted to the days preceding the great Industrial Revolution and the Reformation. Here, in the Catholic Middle Ages, they found realized, for the first and last time in history, the ideals of industrial democracy which to them were of far greater importance than any outward forms of government or mere national prosperity that left their own lives unaffected. "Today," E. T. Raymond wrote in *Everyman*, "the most earnest minds are looking to a revival of the gild system as the only alternative to a new servile State."

But the thunder of the cannons, too, in the great World-War helped to recall the fact, which had so long been studiously overlooked, that the highest achievements of human skill and intellect had after all been accomplished in the ages once accounted "dark"; the ages which produced the world's most wonderful art and architecture, its greatest poetry and richest thought; the ages of which Shakespeare was but the lavish heir, spending prodigally the legacy whose full greatness had been attained in Dante and the Angelic Doctor, in Raphael and Michelangelo, in the beauty of Reims Cathedral and the stateliness of Notre Dame. No one might hope in our less artistic age to reproduce the masterpieces shattered by war.

Comparable entirely with these supreme triumphs of art and architecture, was the social wisdom displayed in the medieval gilds at their highest stages of perfection. The brush of a Titian or the pen of the great Florentine himself never gave expression to a deeper knowledge of human nature than we find reflected in these masterpieces of social thought and experience, transfused with profound religious conviction and touched with an artistry of the spirit that singer and painter have never surpassed.

## REVIVAL OF HISTORIC KNOWLEDGE

**L**ASTLY there has taken place a revival of historic knowledge. To the long-continued schoolboy repetition and the learned-by-rote recitation of half truths and entire falsehoods regarding the Middle Ages, on the part even of otherwise most reputable authorities, there succeeded a more direct and sympathetic study. Men gradually began to drop the misnomer "dark" applied to those ages of brilliant thought and magnificent achievement. It was an epithet best suited to qualify the mind of the writer who still so sadly misused it. Who knows but at some future period of history men may suggest for our own materialistic centuries the title once so unjustly applied to those ages of vigorous youth and lofty aspiration. To those times the world now wisely reverts for lesson and inspiration. In the third of his articles on "Prospects in English Literature," published in the London *Athenaeum*, May, 1917, "Muezzin" thus pictured the modern situation as it was to be more fully revealed in the aftermath of the Great War:

Today it is the Middle Ages that claim our interest and understanding, for there are signs everywhere that the era inaugurated by humanism and Protestantism, and carried forward on the two great tidal waves of industrialism and the French Revolution, is already passing away. We have gained much in the way of intellectual freedom, political privileges, and the creature comforts from these changes; but it is beginning to be realized that we have sold a large measure of our birthright for this appetizing mess of pottage. Above all the temple of the human spirit lies in ruins, its altars are overthrown, and the wild asses pasture undisturbed within its walls. And though, as we must, we bring all the appliances of a scientific civilization and the fruits

of accumulated knowledge to assist us in the task of reconstruction, we can learn much from the men of the Middle Ages, for they were supreme architects in this manner of building, and the temple they set up lasted a thousand years.

With a new sense of freedom, after the passing of the abhorrent Reformation doctrine of the Divine rights of kings, against which the voice of the Church had thundered through the centuries, men can now better realize her services to humanity as the champion in all times of the poor and disinherited. Referring to Cardinal Mercier the New York *Times* believed that it could pay him no higher compliment than simply to pronounce him worthy of the great tradition of his Church, which was the only Church of the Middle Ages. "This valiant priest," it wrote, "recalls the best things in the Middle Ages, when the Church never feared to speak out, at any cost or danger, in behalf of the oppressed." (April 20, 1919.)

## GILDS AND EDUCATION

**W**E recall the glowing passage in President Wilson's "The New Freedom," describing the Catholic Church as the perennial fountain-source of the spirit of freedom and democracy throughout the Middle Ages. It was this same spirit which she infused into the gilds, wherever they remained responsive to her teachings and direction. Men even of such extreme views as Hyndman, in his "Historic Basis of Socialism in England," and the Russian anarchist writer, Kropotkin, in his "Mutual Aid a Factor of Evolution," grow eloquent when discoursing upon the Middle Ages. The influence of the gilds reached up into the very halls of education, and our word "university" itself, as the Columbia University professor, James Harvey Robinson, explains in his "Medieval and Modern Times," is merely a medieval synonym for gild:

Before the end of the twelfth century the teachers had become so numerous in Paris that they formed a union, or gild, for the advancement of their interests. This union of professors was called by the usual name for corporations in the Middle Ages, *universitas*; hence our word, university. The King and the Pope both favored the university and granted the teachers and students many of the privileges of the clergy. (p. 251)

So during the following centuries numerous universities sprang up in France, Italy and Spain. Oxford and Cambridge were founded and great centers of learning flourished everywhere. University life attained a prominence it has never equaled since. Oxford alone is said to have numbered about 10,000 students. Higher education was no longer confined to the clergy, as in the days when the energy of the Church was necessarily absorbed in the teaching of the very rudiments of civilization and of the first principles of religious life to the races emerging from savagery.

In the establishment of these early seats of learning the influence of the gilds was predominant. Regarding the origin of the three great universities at Paris, Oxford and Bologna, Father Cuthbert is thus quoted in the London *Tablet* for May 3, 1919:

They started without charters or even buildings of their own, and were at first simply a group who formed themselves into a closed gild, and borrowed private houses, churches or public halls. Both scholars and masters were subject to gild authority. At Bologna it was a scholars' gild which ruled and appointed the authority to which the masters were responsible; but eventually the masters allied themselves with the town authorities, and so the university became subject to the civic power. At Paris and Oxford the masters' gild elected the council and officials who governed the universities. Later on the two gilds combined, that is the gild included both scholars and masters.

Thus these early Catholic universities were in the strictest sense popular and democratic institutions. Later it became the fashion to ask for a Papal or a royal charter. "That given to Oxford in 1214 by the Legate Otho is probably the earliest." These facts are now fully acknowledged by non-Catholic authorities and even the London *Times* was able recently in its "Educa-



tional Supplement" for January 2, 1919, to launch forth upon a eulogy of the Papacy in the work of elementary and higher education during the entire period from "the ninth century to the days of the counter-Reformation in the sixteenth."

#### CAPITALISM PREVENTED

OUR revaluation of the Middle Ages is steadily progressing and entering the final stage of popularization through the daily press. Particularly in the field of sociology will these ages be of constantly increasing interest and profoundly practical instruction for our times. That the common workingman was then better provided for than in the days capitalism had reached its climax before the outbreak of the World-War, is now universally acknowledged by all who may be trusted to speak with authority upon this question. The advantages of labor were all secured to it through the potent influence of the guilds, but in particular of the craft guilds as based on the religious principles of the Catholic Church with which they were integrally connected. Separated from her, they were left as a body reft of the soul, lifeless, inefficient, passing slowly into inevitable decay. With their religious spirit intact they might have confidently faced the period of economic reconstruction.

It was due to the struggle of the craft guilds alone, as was shown in a previous article, that the world was not sunk into a state of uncontrolled capitalism half a millenium before the coming of the Industrial Revolution. Through the struggle of the guildsmen the nascent cities, beginning with the eleventh century, won their enfranchisement from the feudal lords who then had too often outlasted their usefulness. In the same way they overcame the formidable power of the merchant corporations that threatened to establish their oligarchy of wealth. So too, through the efforts of the guilds the first modern Christian democracies were formed. Many of the medieval cities grew into independent States. In Italy particularly, sprang up those marvelous Catholic republics, like Genoa, Lucca, Pisa, Florence and Venice. Oligarchy and class-rule, it is true, began again in proportion as the guilds themselves deteriorated or their influence declined, but their results lived on in the magnificent efflorescence of art stimulated through the incentives offered by the Church.

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S. J.

#### EDUCATION

##### The Smith Bill and Sherman's Pigs

IT was a Southern gentleman, possibly of the kind that the darkies still commiserate as "po' white trash," who in a burst of eloquence, exploded some years ago on the floor of the lower House, announced that for every Yankee who extorted a ham from Congress, he was going to steal a pig. By a fiction of law, representatives are presumed to represent the people. In the case of this gifted and fearless paladin, there was no fiction but only extremest realism. Is it possible that the smoke which once hung above Sumter has not been dissipated by the breezes of fifty years, and is still acrid in the nostrils of Senator Smith of Georgia? And, by some provision of neo-Freudianism, is the smart a symbol for "pig," for retribution to be exacted from the caittiff North, by reason of the graceless pigs that followed Sherman's army, marching across the blackened fields of prostrate Georgia? I am no Freudian, but a report recently made to the New Jersey State Board of Education, by Mr. John P. Murray, tempts me to a Freudian interpretation of the dreams of Senator Hoke Smith, fondly planning a Federal Department of Education. For whoever gets a ham, the South will not lack a whole drove of pigs. That assertion is not Freudianism but a statement of fact.

##### SHARP RETRIBUTION

IT is interesting to speculate upon the opinion which even that staunch Federalist, Alexander Hamilton, would have entertained touching the proposition to tax Virginia to pay for schools in New York. It is more than interesting to speculate,

although in this case speculation is superfluous, upon the language which plain-spoken Patrick Henry and George Mason would have invoked to denounce the Federal proposition to tax New York to pay for schools in Virginia. For all his Federalism, Hamilton, I am sure, would have deemed the scheme stark madness, a trick to verify the accusations of his political enemies. Henry, "a Virginian first, then an American," and Mason would have resented the importation of New York money to found schools in Virginia, as an insult to their proud, beloved State. All three would have united in common denunciation of the Smith bill, had such a monstrosity then existed, for despite their basic differences, all hated autocracy.

Their descendants, or some of them, North and South, have sadly changed. Forgetting the story of our own battle for liberty, and the World-War waged that men everywhere might be freed from the intolerable burdens of absolute States, they are now conspiring through the Smith bill to establish the most pernicious of all autocracies at the very center of government. "With a government-owned alphabet," comments the irrepressible Colonel Harvey, "with government-owned primers and readers, with officialized and standardized schools, we shall come to the millennium of education." And he adds the inevitable result. "Every person in this great land of ours will be officially taught what is good for him to know—the rest will be gradually forgotten." With the North now in the political saddle, the North will pay, if it is weak, the bill in money. But the whole country will pay a bitter reckoning in the downfall of American ideals and American institutions. The massacred pigs of the South, unwilling followers of Sherman's army, are indeed demanding sharp retribution.

##### THE FEDERAL BREAD-LINE

A HARD-HEADED gentleman is Mr. John P. Murray of New Jersey, with no sympathy at all for the wraiths of bygone pigs. On the contrary, he objects most seriously to the proposition that his State, New Jersey, pay for pigs or schools, other than her own. His position is unassailable, if we accept the perfectly clear political principle that States develop soundly, not when they line up their citizens in the Federal bread-line, but encourage all to self-support and self-determination. If this principle be rejected—and the Smith bill rejects it utterly—we tend certainly to the creation of servile, spiritless clods, once citizens, dominated by a central despotism. Under the provisions of the Smith bill, Mr. Murray notes, New Jersey will pay \$2,781,000 and will receive for her Federalized schools \$2,706,000, while Georgia, the home of Senator Smith, will pay \$513,000 and receive \$2,923,000, or nearly six times her share. New York's proper allotment, on the basis of taxes paid, should be \$22,572,000; her actual allotment under the Smith bill will be \$9,188,000. What becomes of the overplus of twelve millions, after the educational satraps at Washington have deducted their toll, becomes somewhat clearer when the totals for Mississippi are examined. That once imperial State comes close to the top of the mendicancy squad by receiving an allotment about eighteen times larger than her contribution. She pays in \$143,000 and draws out \$2,115,000.

##### THE SOUTH IN THE SADDLE

PERISH the thought that this humble scrivener whose earliest memories are of reverence for the "Lost Cause" and of the men who died for it, should seek to make the Smith bill a sectional issue. But the "sectionalism" is not his. It is Senator Smith's. At all events the war ended in 1865, and he was not among those present on that interesting occasion. Yet taxes that bear heavily on one section, to the almost exclusive advantage of another section, of the country, are beyond all cavil, "sectional." To insist upon such levies is repugnant to our ideals of fair-play, as well as to the political philosophy in which alone the Federal Union finds its justification. According to that philosophy, in their sphere the States are absolutely inde-

pendent of the Federal Government, just as in its own sphere, the Federal Government is sovereign. That necessary balance of power cannot long be maintained, if the schools, now by law and custom the exclusive charge of the local community, are to be subsidized by Federal taxes, distributed according to the mandate of a supreme governor at Washington. The figures submitted in the following tables can leave no doubt of the sectional character of the "benefits" to be derived from the Smith bill. The first column exhibits the allotment each State would receive, if apportioned according to the internal revenue paid by the State, while the second shows the actual allotment under the Smith bill. The estimates were furnished by C. D. Blachly, of the Reference Service of the Library of Congress.

#### TWELVE SOUTHERN STATES

Alabama .....	\$ 513,000	\$ 2,329,000
Arkansas .....	170,000	1,747,000
Florida .....	216,000	933,000
Georgia .....	513,000	2,923,000
Louisiana .....	945,000	1,862,000
Mississippi .....	143,000	2,115,000
New Mexico .....	81,000	348,000
North Carolina .....	1,890,000	2,578,000
South Carolina .....	228,000	1,755,000
Tennessee .....	486,000	2,273,000
Texas .....	1,080,000	4,268,000
Virginia .....	972,000	2,293,000
Totals .....	\$7,237,000	\$25,424,000

#### TWELVE NORTHERN AND BORDER STATES

California .....	\$ 2,970,000	\$ 2,669,000
Connecticut .....	1,998,000	1,104,000
Delaware .....	891,000	184,000
Illinois .....	9,774,000	5,480,000
Kentucky .....	2,673,000	2,273,000
Maryland .....	1,647,000	1,136,000
Massachusetts .....	5,184,000	3,170,000
New Jersey .....	2,781,000	2,706,000
New York .....	22,572,000	9,188,000
Ohio .....	8,127,000	4,807,000
Pennsylvania .....	15,903,000	7,078,000
Rhode Island .....	540,000	515,000
Totals .....	\$75,060,000	\$40,310,000

The South will not quit loser on this game, since her receipts exceed expenditures by more than \$18,000,000. By way of contrast, twelve Northern States, contributing more than seventy-five per cent. of the entire appropriation under the Smith bill, are allowed only forty per cent. for home consumption.

To this great disparity, there are a few exceptions; North Dakota, for instance, receives nearly twenty times her tax-rate allotment. But the significant fact is that, calculated on this basis, not a single Southern State receives less than it pays, while the majority draw sums ranging from two to eighteen times greater.

#### PRUSSIANISM AND THE SOUTH

THE whole philosophy of the Smith bill reeks with Prussianism. If Mississippi and South Carolina desire to improve their schools, and few will deny the imperative need of improvement, let them, not Massachusetts and New York, bear the cost. The State which deliberately resigns itself to dependence upon a foreign source, save in those cases specifically designated in the Federal Constitution, aligns itself with the able-bodied beggar who stands at the street-corner with hat outstretched and a factitious patch over his eye. The South was once thought, and with reason, to be the peculiar home of honor, self-reliance, initiative, and all qualities that fit a people to live under a free and representative form of government. The South resigns that claim forever if it elects to follow Senator Smith of Georgia in a sordid campaign that can end only with the substitution of Prussian statecraft in place of those principles of local government, for which her leaders fought in 1776 and 1861.

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

## NOTE AND COMMENT

### Million-Dollar Drive for St. Ignatius University

A NEW million-dollar drive has been inaugurated by one of our Catholic universities, and this time the appeal comes from the old historic seat of learning at San Francisco. The need of St. Ignatius University was thus strongly presented in his proclamation by Archbishop Hanna:

The Jesuit Fathers of San Francisco have, for some time past, been struggling under an insupportable burden of debt, which growing heavier and heavier from day to day has assumed such alarming present proportions that it has moved the friends of St. Ignatius Church and College to make a supreme effort to relieve the lamentable condition. Something must be done and done quickly if we are to preserve the old historic institution. Not only Catholics, but men of every creed, who recognize the need there is, now more than ever before, of a religious basis for social as well as individual morality, are interested in the continuance of the work of both church and college. But in a special manner Catholics are interested. For sixty-three years the Jesuit Fathers have been identified with the archdiocese of San Francisco, devoting all their energies and resources to the intellectual, moral and religious betterment of thousands of young men, and receiving no compensation for their services other than a meagre livelihood. Accordingly, as Archbishop of San Francisco, I not only give my fullest approval of the effort which is now to be made by the friends of St. Ignatius Church and College, but I pray Almighty God that He may inspire all to contribute willingly and generously, according to their means, to so good a cause, and I confidently trust that, in His infinite abundance, He will reward the generosity, having in mind what He spoke through His Incarnate Son: "Whatsoever you do to the least of My brethren, you do it unto Me."

No subscriptions were to be taken at the opening banquet, but this did not prevent Senator Phelan from offering \$10,000 nor the famous singer, John McCormack from giving \$1,000, while his manager, D. F. McSweeney, added \$500 more.

### To Aid Our Catholic Brethren

A PPEALS continue to be made for Armenian and Syrian relief. This is an excellent charity. But Catholics should bear in mind the warning of the Syrian Archbishop Tanbé published by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith:

The people of the United States are generous, but, unfortunately, their generosity does not materially aid the Catholics here. The money reaching Syria is invariably portioned out to those of other religions, to general works and so forth. Under one pretext or another, it is diverted from the Catholics and they remain destitute. Strict justice demands that they receive a share of all charitable offerings.

Neutrality in this country is a name only. All the works which are not Catholic are distinctly anti-Catholic; all the missionaries and the local clergy agree on this point. There is talk of raising \$60,000,000 in the United States for relief work in the Near East. If we are to benefit by this noble generosity, Catholics should send their money separately as otherwise we shall be discriminated against.

I beg to be excused for speaking so plainly, but my heart is saddened by the spectacle of so much desolation. Aside from the fact that they are of my own Faith, the abject misery of these people makes demands on my humane feelings and forces me to present their cause to friends afar.

The same warnings, as the Propagation of the Faith assures us, apply equally well to Catholics of other nationalities, Armenians, Maronites, Greeks, etc. Catholics are invariably discriminated against and not infrequently are induced through hunger to give up their Faith in order to partake of the very alms that have been contributed by their brethren in America. Wherever in doubt, Catholics should offer their donations through the Propagation of the Faith which will see that they are forwarded to the proper authorities. The General Director for the United States is Mgr. Joseph Freri, 343 Lexington Ave., New York.